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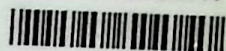
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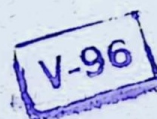
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ABBREVIATIONS

- ABI. (ABORT). Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
- AJV. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes. Vol. III., Orientalia. Published by Calcutta University.
- An. SS. Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series.
- ASB. The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Auf. *Cat.* Catalogus Catalogorum by T. Aufrecht, Leipzig, 1891.
- BCL. *Cat.* Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Baroda Central Library.
- BEFEO. Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, Hanoi.
- Belv. *Lect.* Lectures on Vedānta by S. K. Belvalkar.
- Belv. *Phil.* History of Indian Philosophy by S. K. Belvalkar.
- Belv. *Systems.* Systems of Sanskrit Grammar by S. K. Belvalkar.
- Ben-SS. Benares Sanskrit Series.
- BG. Bombay Gazetteer.
- BGD. Bauddha Gāṇ o Dohā, H. P. Sastri,
- B.GS. *Cat.* Catalogue of Mss. in Gujarat, Sindh etc, by G. Bühler.
- BI. Bāṅglār Itihāsa, Part I, 2nd ed. (in Bengali) by R. D. Banerji.
- Bibl. Ind. Bibliotheca Indica. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
- Bod.-*Cat.* Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Oxford, 1905.
- BSS. Bombay Sanskrit Series.
- Cal. SS. Calcutta Sanskrit Series.
- Chatterji-Lang. The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language by Suniti Kumar Chatterji. Calcutta University, 1926.
- CHI. Cambridge History of India.
- Cordier.-*Cat.* Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale by P. Cordier. Paris 1908.
- CS. Chowkhāmbā Sanskrit Series.
- De *Poetics.* Sanskrit Poetics by S. K. De.
- DG. *Phil.* History of Indian Philosophy by S. N. Dasgupta.
- DOT. Dacca University Oriental Texts Series.
- Edelst. Edelsteinmine by A. Grünwedel. Petrograd 1914.
- Egg. *Cat.* Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office, London, by J. Eggeling London, 1887.
- EI. Epigraphia Indica.
- ERE. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
- GL. Gauḍa lekha-mālā (in Bengali) by Akshaya Kumar Maitreya.
- GIPA. Strassburg, 1897.

- GOS. Gaekwad Oriental Series.
- HB. History of Bengal, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943.
- HC. Harṣa-carita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.
- HSL. Haraprasāda-saṃvardhanā-lekhamālā (in Bengali). Published by VSP.
- IA. Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
- IB. Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, by N. G. Majumdar.
- IC. Indian Culture, Calcutta.
- IHQ. Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.
- JAOS. Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.
- JASB. Journal of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
- JBORS. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.
- JBRAS. (JBo.Br.RAS). Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JBTS. Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society, London.
- JL. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University.
- JOR. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- JRAS. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Third Series, Letters, Calcutta.
- Keith-Drama. Sanskrit Drama by Sir A. B. Keith.
- Keith-Lit. History of Sanskrit Literature by Sir A. B. Keith.
- KS. Kashmir Sanskrit Texts, Allahabad.
- Levi-Nepal. Le Nepal by Sylvain Levi.
- M.—Cat. Descriptive Catalogue of Mss. in Madras Government Oriental Library.
- Mitra-Notices. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rajendra Lal Mitra.
- NIA. New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
- NSP. Nirṇaya-sāgara Press.
- OTF. Oriental Translation Fund (of RAS.).
- Pag Sam Jon Zang. Pag Sam Jon Zang of Sumpa Mkhan Po Yese Pal Jor. Ed. Sarat Chandra Das.
Calcutta 1908.
- PB. Pālas of Bengal by R. D. Banerji (MASB. Vol. V).
- PHC. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
- Proc.ASB. Proceedings of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- PTOC. Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
- RC.2 Rāmacarita. Ed. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji. Published by VRS.
- R.—Phil. Indian Philosophy by Sir S. Radhakrishnan.
- Śāstrī-Cat. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Government Collection under the care of
the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. by MM. Haraprasad Sastri.
- SBE. Sacred Books of the East Series, Harvard.

SBS. Sarasvati Bhavan Studies, Benares.

SPS. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, Calcutta.

Sumpa. see Pag Sem Jon Zang.

Takakusu-I-tsing. see I-tsing.

Tār. Tāranatha, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien. German tr. by A. Schiefner.

TCM. Triennial Catalogue of Madras Government Manuscript Library for 1919-22.

TSS. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

V.—*Cat.* Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society by H. D. Velankar.

VP. Srivani-vilasa Press.

VRS. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.

VSP. Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta.

VSP.—*Cat.* Handbook to the Sculptures in the VSP. Museum, by Manomohan Ganguly.

VSS. Vizianagram Sanskrit Series.

Wint.—*Ges.* Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur by M. Winternitz.

Wint.—*Lit.* History of Sanskrit Literature by M. Winternitz (English tr. of Wint.—*Ges.*). Published by Calcutta University.

WZKM. Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Vienna.

ZDMG. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO
SANSKRIT LITERATURE
AND
STUDIES
IN
BENGAL
VAIṢNAVISM

S. K. DE

Editor's Note

Except for minor typographical and other alterations and serialising the numbers used to indicate the footnotes, *Bengal's Contribution to Sanskrit Literature* is intended to be a verbatim reprint of Dr. De's article on Sanskrit Literature in the *History of Bengal*, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and published by the University of Dacca. This article formed Chapter XI, pp. 290 to 373 of the first volume, Dacca 1943.

To this is added a bunch of articles by Dr. De on various aspects of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism. These articles had so long been scattered in various periodicals and books, the references to which are indicated at the end of each. Except for transliterating the Sanskrit quotations originally in Devanāgarī script, these reprints, too, are verbatim.

Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya

Editor, *Indian Studies : Past & Present*

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION

to

SANSKRIT LITERATURE

S. K. DE

The early literary history of Bengal, to which or to parts of which references commence with comparatively late Vedic literature, is for the most part a matter for conjecture. We have seen ¹ that in the period or periods during which the Vedic Saṃhitās came into existence, Bengal had not probably yet characterised itself as a political and cultural, much less as a literary, unit of the northern Aryan India. While the Vājasaneyi recension of the *Yajurveda*, in which the easterner Yājñavalkya plays a leading part, had its most probable origin in the east (Videha), it is curious that Magadha and Aṅga still serve to the *Atharva-veda* (v. 22. 14) as a symbol of a distant land, and the more eastern provinces are never mentioned. We have also seen that the extension of Vedic civilisation must have been further achieved in what is conventionally called the Brāhmaṇa period ; but one of the latest of the major Brāhmaṇas, the *Śatapatha*, which belongs to the Vājasaneyi and which bears witness to much cultural activity in Videha, describes (XIII. 8. 5) the people of the east as hostile or demoniac (*āsurya*). Similarly the eastern land of Puṇḍra receives disapproval in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 18) as the home of Dasyus ; and in a dubious, but probably not very complimentary, passage in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (II. 1. 1) the composite tribe of Vaṅgāvagadha² receives mention in a list of tribes who were guilty of transgression. This tradition of the association of Vaṅga, along with Puṇḍra, with outcast tribes is preserved as late as the *Bodhāyana Dharma-sūtra* (1. 2. 14), which prescribes penances to those who visit these unclean lands. The imperfect Aryanisation of a greater part of what is known as Bengal is perhaps responsible for this attitude of frank dislike ; and linguistic and ethnological evidences make the presence of Kol-Muṇḍā and Dravidian tribes in these regions highly probable. But it is also possible that Bengal in this period had a culture which was not only non-Aryan but also non-Vedic, presumably fostered by the hypothetical Outer Aryans of Grierson. The Midland Brahmanic culture must have taken a fairly long time to strike its root in the eastern soil ; and the same causes as rendered Magadha the probable headquarters of the non-Vedic Vṛātya Aryans also made it, in later history, the starting ground of at least two great non-Brahmanical religious systems.

1. See *HB* p. 7.

2. The question is discussed in *HB* p. 8.

The racial and political units of Bengal, on the other hand, are mentioned as quite prosperous and powerful in the *Mahābhārata*, in which the eastern tribes of Magadha, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Suhma and Kalinga play an important part; but there is no reference to any literary activity in these countries. The professional storytellers and reciters, known as Sūtas and Māgadhas,³ however, to whom has been ascribed the preservation of epic tales, were in all probability, as the latter designation also indicates, people of the east. As the man of Magadha is *par excellence* the designation of a minstrel, it is not unlikely that Magadha was in epic times the seat of minstrelsy; and this conjecture appears to receive support from a reference in the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* (xxx. 5) to the symbolic sacrifice of the man of Magadha to "loud noise" (*atikrushtāya māgadhan*). The man of the east, especially of Magadha,⁴ has also been connected with the nomadic Vṛātya, with his weird dress, appearance and speech and equally weird rites and ceremonies, described in the *Atharva-veda* xv and elsewhere⁵; but no mention is made of any kind of literary culture, and all that we can plausibly infer from the somewhat vague and obscure references is that the speech of the Vṛātya,⁶ though Aryan, betrayed Prakritic habits, indicating a more rapid linguistic change of the Indo-Aryan in the eastern provinces. That the standard language was that of the North (Udīcyā), from which dialects of the provinces, including the East (Prācyā), must have shown deviations, is confirmed by the view of the later Vedic period, which is expressed in the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 6), that "in the northern region speech is spoken with greater discernment; men, therefore, go to the north to learn speech; he who comes from there, they like to hearken unto him."⁷

It is no wonder, therefore, that the northerner Pāṇini should, in his great and standard grammar, refer to the peculiarities of the eastern speech; and the earliest indication of some kind of literary activity in the east is to be presumed from his references to eastern grammarians. The eastern peculiarities noticed by Pāṇini concern the designation of some eastern people (ii. 4. 66; iv. 1. 178; iv. 2.

3. E. Washburn Hopkins, *Great Epic of India* (New Haven 1920), p. 364f.

4. *Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, viii. 6. 28; *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, xxii. 4. 22. On these passages see J. W. Hauer, *Der Vṛātya* (Stuttgart 1927), pp. 6-7, 96-97 and 143 f.

5. The location of the Vṛātyas is uncertain, but some of them probably settled in Magadha and the eastern provinces; see *CHI*. I. 123. A full and critical resume of the Vedic texts on the Vṛātya problem is given in J. W. Hauer, *op. cit.* Charpentier (*WZKM*. xxv. 355-68) finds the Rudra-Śiva cult in the Vṛātya practices, but A. B. Keith (*JRAS*. 1915, p. 155) rejects this hypothesis. See Hauer, *op. cit.* p. 297f on the religious ideas of the Vṛātyas.

6. As described in *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa*, xvii. 1. 9. Cf. Weber's explanation in his *Indian Literature* (Eng. tr. London 1904), pp. 67, 68. A discussion of this passage will be found in Hauer, *op. cit.* 69, 168-72, 174 f.

7. *tasmād udīcyāṃ diśi prajñātatarā vāg udyate, udañca u eva yanti vācam śikshitum, yo vā tata āgachchhati tasya vā śuśrūshanta iti.*

113 ; viii. 3. 75) and of certain parts of the east (i. 1. 75 ; iv. 2. 76, 120, 123, 139), the formation of the names of certain eastern cities, villages and their inhabitants (vi. 2. 99 ; vii. 3. 14, 24), an eastern peculiarity in the name of a game (vi. 2. 74), the morphology of eastern proper names (ii. 4. 60 ; iv. 1. 17 ; v. 3. 80), the designation of tributes which may have been rendered by the north to the east or *vice versa* (vi. 3. 10), the name of certain measures of weight which may have been known from eastern merchants (v. 4. 101) and the eastern mode of the articulation in greeting a person (viii. 2. 86) ; but much more interesting are the direct references he makes to the views of eastern grammarians (iii. 1. 90 ; iii. 4. 18 ; iv. 1. 17, 43, 160 ; v. 3. 80, 94 ; v. 4. 101 ; viii. 2. 86) in regard to the morphology, phonetics and syntax of the eastern dialect. It is clear that in Pāṇini's time, as in that of the *Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa*, the standard literary language was still the dialect of the north, to which Pāṇini himself belonged ;⁸ but his reference to the opinion of eastern grammarians also makes it probable that linguistic speculations in the east must have acquired such a position in his time that it became necessary for him to take them into account. Such linguistic speculations doubtless indicate the existence of a respectable body of literature on which they based themselves ; but nothing unfortunately has survived, and this literature is now only a matter of surmise. It should also be noted that no definite denotation can be attached to Pāṇini's *Prāñch* or *Prācyā*. If it is equivalent to the *Prasii* of the Greek writers, it would denote preferably the people of Magadha ; but in all probability it was a much more extensive term which included the peoples or provinces east of the Middle Country (*i.e.* east, roughly, of Allahabad)⁹ and would not therefore possess any particular application to Bengal. It is noteworthy, however, that the word *Gauḍa* in the sense of a country is already known to Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* (vi. 2. 100),¹⁰ and the *Gaṇa-pāṭha* (lxxiv. 9) mentions Vaṅga.

8. There is no reason to doubt the traditional assumption that Pāṇini was a northern grammarian. R. Otto Francke's opinion (*Goettinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1891, pp. 957, 975f) that "in Pāṇini's period the Brahman people had their centres in the East" is negatived not only by Pāṇini's manner of referring to the views of the eastern grammarians, but also, as Paul Thieme has shown (*Pāṇini and the Veda*, Allahabad 1935, p. 73 f), by Pāṇini's relation to the northern Vedic schools and by the probability, which Weber had already considered (*Indische Studien*, v. 50), that Pāṇini scarcely makes any use of the *Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā* and its *Brāhmaṇas*, Pāṇini's citation of Uḍīcyā grammarians does not invalidate this position.

9. The Vinaya references to Madhyadeśa probably fix its limits up to Puṇḍravardhana (see *HB* Ch. XIII).

10. In this rule Pāṇini teaches that when the words *arishṭa* and *gauḍa* stand first in a compound, the first member has an acute accent on the final syllable before the word *pura*. From the preceding rule, which speaks of compounds dealing with a city of the eastern people, as well as from the following rule which also has a similar application, there can be no doubt that the word *Gauḍa* here signifies the name of a country.

We do not know exactly when the Aryanisation of Bengal took place. If Magadha received the Aryan culture and language long before the time of the Buddha, the disparaging references in the later Vedic literature make it likely that the Aryans of the east stood apart for some time from those of west in dialect, customs and practices. During the domination of the Mouryas, who were easterners, Bengal was probably linked to the Aryan India of the north; but we have no record of literary activity in Bengal in the first few centuries of its Aryanisation. We have the earliest mention of Suhma and Rāḍhā in the Jaina *Āyāraṅga Sutta*,¹¹ which tells us that Mahāvīra travelled "in the pathless countries of the Lāḍhas in Vajjabhūmi and Subbbhabhūmi"; but it is curious that no inscription of Aśoka nor any early Jaina record has been discovered in Bengal proper. Patañjali, after Pāṇini, shows himself familiar with Pāṭaliputra and betrays (on Pa⁰ iv. 2. 52)¹² a greater knowledge of the political divisions of the east; for he mentions together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma and Puṇḍra. In another interesting passage,¹³ which he may have borrowed and amplified from Yāska (ii. 2), he gives us some dialectological information regarding the employment of certain verbs in a peculiar sense by the people of the east.¹⁴ He refers also (I. 1. 1) to the usage¹⁵ of *l* for *r*, which became one of the important characteristics of the later Māgadhi Prakrit, but which, in his opinion, is Āsura pronunciation, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* having already described the Prācyā as *āsurya*. While these references to the debased speech of the east confirm the presumption that modifications of the standard language occurred early in the eastern provinces, they add very little to our knowledge of the linguistic and literary activity in the east, the existence of which should be presumed to explain the grammarian's interest.

11. *SBE.* xxii. 48. Jacobi identifies Lāḍha with Rāḍha, and Subbbhabhūmī with the country of Suhma. In the *Kalpa-sūtra* the Jaina ascetic orders are named Puṇḍravardhanīya, Koṭivarshīya and Tāmraliptika (p. 288, *SBE.* xxii).

12. Ed. Kielhorn, iii, p. 282.

13. Ed. Kielhorn, i, p. 49.

14. *Viz.* *dāti* in the sense 'to cut' and *raṇhati* in the sense 'to go'; in the former case Patañjali speaks of *prācyeshu*, in the latter *prācyā-madhyeshu*. He uses the word *prācyā* (on Pa⁰ iv. 2. 138, ed. Kielhorn, p. 301) in connection with the Charaṇas or Vedic schools prevailing in the east. On the passage from Yāska see Liebhich, *Zur Einführung in die indische einsheimische Sprachwissenschaft*, II. 24f and Hannes Skold, *Nirukta*, p. 80 f and references cited therein.

15. On this usage see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II. 517 and Grierson in *ZDMG.* lxi. 66, note.

After several centuries, when the Gupta rulers came to power, the only definite evidence of Sanskrit culture¹⁶ is afforded by inscriptional records, discovered in Bengal, which give us the earliest instances of actual Sanskrit composition. Leaving aside the short early Brāhmī inscription from Māhāsthān, and the lithic record (three lines) of Chandravarman,¹⁷ on the Susunia Hill in West Bengal, we have eight short copper-plates¹⁸ which, issued by the local officers of the Gupta Emperors in North Bengal, cover in dates one century between 443 and 543 A. D. But these brief prose specimens are hardly of any literary value. It is not until we come to the 7th century A. D. that we find the high-flown Kāvya-style in prose and verse employed in the epigraphic-records, such, for instance, as displayed in the Tippera copper-plates of Lokanātha¹⁹ or the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman.²⁰ The testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-hien, however, who visited India in the beginning of the 5th century and spent two years at Tāmralipti in studying and copying manuscripts, supplements the rather scanty evidence of copper-plates and inscriptions.²¹ The later and much more extensive itinerary, in the 7th century, of Hiuen Tsang, who visited Puṇḍravardhana, Kāmarūpa, Samatāṭa, and Karṇasuvarṇa, is remarkable for its references to the love of learning of the people, as well as to the existence of more than seventy Buddhist monasteries in these lands as seats of learning, hundreds of Deva-temples, and a large number of Nirgrantha ascetics.²² I-tsing, coming to India a little later, definitely states that he learned Sanskrit and the science of words (Śabda-vidyā) in Tāmralipti.²³ These foreign travellers do not refer to any literary activity, but they furnish definite evidence of the existence in this period of Sanskrit learning and culture in Bengal.

It is necessary in this connection to notice a few works of a technical Śāstric character, which have been credited to Bengal of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The first of these is a work on elephant lore, entitled *Hasty-āyurveda*,²⁴ which, after the manner of the Purāṇas and in the form of a dialogue held in Champā between

16. The chauvinistic attempt to appropriate Kālidāsa to Bengal hardly needs any comment. Curiously enough, it ignores the poet's not very complimentary references to the people of Vaṅga and Suhma (*Raghu*⁰, iv. 35-36) who adjectly prostrated themselves before the conqueror Raghu.

17. *EI.* xiii. 133.

18. See *HB* p. 49.

19. *EI.* xv. 301f.

20. *Ibid.* xii. 65 f.

21. J. Legge, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, p. 100.

22. Watters, II. 184-91. For an analysis of Hiuen Tsang's remarks on the language see Chatterji-*Lang.* 78-79.

23. Takakuśu-*I-tsing*, p. xxxi.

24. Ed. *An. SS.*, No. 26. The work is also called *Gaja-cikitsā*, *Gaja-vidyā* *Gaja-vaidya* and *Gajāyurveda*. Mss. noticed in *Auf.-Cat.* I. 141a, 336b ; II. 28a. See J. Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 14, sec. 12.

king Romapāda of Aṅga and the sage Pālakāpya²⁵ (°kāppa), gives in four sections an elaborate account of the ailments peculiar to elephants. This Romapāda is mentioned as the mythical contemporary of Daśaratha famed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and the author, endowed with a fictitious Kāpya *gotra* and possibly with a fictitious name, is likewise a legendary figure, his father having been a sage and his mother a she-elephant ! In I. I. 39 and 101 a reference is made to the hermitage of Pālakāpya which is placed in the region where the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) flows from the Himālayas to the sea. In spite of the obviously legendary character of the narrator and his hearer, it is surmised that the work was redacted in some place in Bengal on the banks of the Brahmaputra. Since the device of a legendary narrator and hearer is common enough in the Purāṇas, from which it is evidently borrowed, it would not be safe to base merely on it any chronological inference ; but, as high an antiquity has been claimed for the production as the 5th or 6th century B. C.²⁶ The first surmise is not unlikely ; and Hiuen Tsang²⁷ speaks of wild elephants which ravaged in herds in Kāmarūpa (Western Assam), which he takes to be the confines of "East India." The date of the work is certainly earlier than that of Kshīrasvāmin, who in the 11th century quotes Pālakāpya twice in his commentary on the *Amara-Koṣa* (on II. 8. 38 ; III. 3. 148) ;²⁸ and it is probable that it could not have been redacted at a very late period, inasmuch as the encyclopaedic *Agni-Purāṇa*, some of whose Śāstric sections have to be dated earlier than the 10th century,²⁹ tells us that its chapter on the Gaja-cikitsā³⁰ is based upon Pālakā-

25. P. C. Bagchi (*IHQ.* 1933, p. 261) believes that the name *Pāla* here signifies elephant, from Dravidian *pal* (elephant), while he connects *-kāpya* with *kapi*, which he thinks had the same sense. If this is correct, the name itself becomes entirely fictitious, and we need not assume that any such person actually existed.

26. Haraprasād Śāstrī is inclined (*JBORS.* 1919, p. 313) to assign the work to the 5th or 6th century B.C. (*Cf. Ibid.* 1924, p. 317).

27. Watters, II. 186.

28. These verses are, however, not traceable in the present text.

29. See *De-Poetics.* I. 102-4 ; also for the Smṛti chapters see R. C. Hazra in *IHQ.* 1936, pp. 683-91. It is noteworthy that the available Mss. of the Purāṇa are almost entirely in Bengali or Devanāgarī scripts, suggesting its prevalence in the Bengali or Devanāgarī area ; and the fact that the Bengali Mss. are by far the more plentiful might indicate the eastern origin, or at least popularity, of the Purāṇa. It is, therefore, not surprising that it should cite Pālakāpya.

30. Ed. *An. SS.* Ch. 287.

pya's narration to King Romapāda of Aṅga.³¹ It is not improbable that Kālidāsa alludes to Pālakāpya³² when he makes Sunandā, during the Svayamvara of Indumatī (*Raghu*^o VI. 27), describe the king of Aṅga as one "whose elephants are trained by Sūtra-Kāras." Pālakāpya's present work is written not in the form of Sūtra but in Kārikā with occasional prose exposition, somewhat in the manner of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*; but since Bharata has also been called a Muni and Sūtra-Kāra, a similar allusion to Pālakāpya is not improbable. If this presumption is acceptable, then Pālakāpya's treatise on elephant-science, like Bharata's work on Dramaturgy, must be taken as embodying a traditional compendium, which was redacted in Aṅga or in some place on the banks of the Brahmaputra, sometime before Kālidāsa, in the name of a legendary sage, who first systematised the science, and in the form and diction of an ancient Śāstra. The present text is an extensive compilation of 160 chapters, covering 700 pages in the printed edition, and is divided (after medical works) into four Sthānas or sections, namely, Mahāroga (principal diseases, 18 chapters), Kshudra-roga (minor diseases, 72 chapters), Śalya (Surgery, 34 chapters) and Uttara (Therapy, Bath, Dietics etc., 36 chapters). The science, to which Kauṭilya refers when he speaks of elephant-doctors, and which at one time must have possessed considerable importance in India, is now nearly lost, and its technicalities have become obscure; but Pālakāpya's earliest authoritative contribution to the subject deserves mention as presumably an eastern production of great interest.

With regard to the next author, Candragomin, who is recognised as the founder of the Cāndra school of Sanskrit grammar, we are perhaps on a firmer ground, both in respect of approximate date and authorship. In his *Vākyapadiya* (ii. 489-90) Bhartṛhari mentions Baiji, Sauva and Haryaksha as grammarians who went before Candrācārya and who by their uncritical methods contributed not a little to the neglect of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. As this observation accords well with Kalhaṇa's account of the fate of the *Mahābhāṣya*,³³ as well as with the curious

31. Ch. 286, verse 24. Other quotations from Pālakāpya occur in Hemādri's *Vrata-khaṇḍa* (second half of 12th century), Vallālasena's *Adbhūta-sāgara*, Mallinātha's commentary on *Raghu*^o xvi. 3 (14th century), *Vira-mitrodāya*, of Mitramiśra, and *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* (Nos. 1563-69, 1594-99; 14th century). See S. K. De in *D. R. Bhandarkar Vol.*, p. 74, f.n. 3 for references. The passage quoted by Mallinātha occurs in the present text I. i. 218-19. Pālakāpya is also referred to by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi* (III. 517; 12th century).

32. So explained by Hemādri, Cāritravardhana and Mallinātha.

33. It is noteworthy that Kalhaṇa also refers (i. 176) to Chandrācārya and his grammar and to his reviving the study of the *Mahābhāṣya*, but he places Chandrācārya in Kashmir under Abhimanyu (c. 3rd century A.D.). On this passage see F. Kielhorn (*IA*. IV. 1875), pp. 107-8; B. Liebig, *Kṣīra-taraṅginī*, pp. 270-72.

legend recorded in a late Tibetan work³⁴ of the censure of Patañjali's work by Candragomin, it has been assumed that this Candracārya is no other than Candragomin.³⁵ B. Liebich who has recovered and edited the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* (Sūtra, Uṇādi and Dhātu-pāṭha),³⁶ as well as its *Vṛtti*,³⁷ is of opinion³⁸ that Candra wrote both the text and the commentary and that he flourished probably in the period between 465 and 544 A. D. The work is certainly earlier than the *Kāśikā* of Jayāditya and Vāmana; for this commentary on Pāṇini appropriates without acknowledgment thirtyfive original Sūtras of Candra's grammar, which had no

34. Sumpā, *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, pt. i pp. 95-96. The story is reproduced in S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Hist. of Ind. Logic*, pp. 334-35.

35. Sastri-Cat. vi (*Vyākaraṇa*), preface, p. 1, does not accept this identification.

36. Ed. from Sanskrit Mss., as well as from the Tibetan version, with full indices. The *Gaṇa-pāṭha*, as well as the *Liṅgānuśāsanā*, which is quoted by Purushottama-deva in his *Varṇa-deśanā* (Egg.-Cat. II. No. 1039/1475 a, p. 295), Ujjvaladatta (ed. Aufrecht, IV. I), Sarvānanda (on II. 6. 62) and Rāyamukuta on Amara (R. G. Bhandarkar-Report, 1883-84, p. 468), is missing. But the *Cāndra Gaṇa-pāṭha*, as well as an *Upasarga-vṛtti*, exists in Tibetan. A short *Varṇa-vṛtti* by Candragomin is published in *Belv.-Systems*, p. 117 (App. I); cf. *JASB*. 1908, pp. 549 ff. A *Pārāyaṇa* by Candra is quoted by Kshīrasvāmin in his *Kṣītra-taraṅgiṇī* (ed. Liebich x. 82). Liebich has given a bibliography of *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* and its accessory literature in *Nach. d. Goettingischen Gessellschaft*, 1895, pp. 272-321, summarised in *IA*. 1896, pp. 103-5.

37. Ed. B. Liebich. In the colophon it is called the work of Dharmadāsa, but Liebich takes it as the name of the pupil who wrote down the master's words. Liebich has given a detailed study of the *Vṛtti* in his *Zūr Einführung*, Pt. IV (Analyse der *Cāndra-vṛtti*).

38. *WZKM*. xiii (1899), pp. 308-15 and *Das Datum Candragomins and Kālidāsa* (Breslau 1903). The chief ground is that the sentence *ajayad gupto* (Ms. *jarta* or *japto*) *hūṇān* in the *Vṛtti* i. 2. 81, p. 43) mentions the victory of the Gupta over the Hūṇas as an illustration of the use of the Perfect to describe an event in the life-time of the author. But the identity of Jarta, or Japta, as given by manuscript-evidence, is not clear; and the conjecture that it is a mislection for Gupta is problematic. *Keith-drama*, p. 168, appears to think that Jarta refers to a Jāt prince! Belvalkar (*op. cit.* p. 58), however, approximates Liebich's dating further to 470 A.D., assuming that the victory over the Hūṇas refers to their defeat by Skandagupta. S. Lévi (*BEFEO*. III. 1903, pp. 38 f), relying on the mention by I-tsing (Takakusu, *op. cit.* pp. 164, 183) of a great man named Candra *kouan* (—official) or Candradāsa, who lived, like a Bodhisattva, in his time in Eastern India and composed a musical play on the Viṣvāntara, would identify this Candra with Candragomin. As this identification is likely, it would place Candragomin some time before I-tsing, although it must be admitted that the reference is not entirely free from doubt. Minayeff, on the other hand, believes (Liebich, *Paṇini*, p. 11) that Candragomin lived as early as the beginning

parallel in Pāṇini,³⁹ but which Kayyāṭa distinctly repudiates as un-Pāṇinian. All accounts agree that Candragomin was a Buddhist; and this is supported not only by his honorific Buddhistic title—*gomin*, but also by the Maṅgala-śloka of the *Vṛtti* which pays homage to Sarvajña. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish the grammarian Candragomin from the philosopher Candragomin, who wrote a work on Logic, entitled *Nyāya-siddhyāloka*,⁴⁰ as well as from the Tāntric writer of the same name,⁴¹ to whom thirty-six esoteric texts are ascribed in the *Bstan-hgyur*. According to this account,⁴² he belonged to a Kshatriya family in Varendra,⁴³ resided for some time at Candradvīpa⁴⁴ and met the Mādhyamika commentator Candrakīrti at Nālandā,⁴⁵ where he became a pupil of Sthiramati. Apart from the Tāntric Vajra-

of the 5th century. N. Péri (*BEFEO*. 1911, p. 388, f. n. 2) places Candragomin in the second half of the 7th century, while S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) is of opinion that the Tibetan source (*Tār.* 146), in making Candra a contemporary of Śīla, son of Harsavardhana, would place him at about 700 A.D. But this late date conflicts with the accepted date of the *Kāśikā*, which makes use of the Cāndra-grammar. For a re-discussion of the whole question see Liebich, *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*, pp. 264 ff.

39. Shown first by Kielhorn in *IA*. 1886, pp. 183-85; See Liebich, *Konkordanz Pāṇini-Candra*, Breslau 1928.

40. S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 336.

41. See below under Buddhist Tāntric writers. Tāranātha has much that is legendary to relate of Candragomin and ascribes to him a large number of hymns and learned works.

42. *Tār.* 148-58 and Sumpā, *loc. cit.* S. C. Vidyabhusan (*loc. cit.*) distinguishes the logician Candragomin from the grammarian of the same name and assigns a much later date to the former; but he would assign some of the Tāntric Stotras to the latter, although in his *Mediaeval School of Ind. Logic*, pp. 121-23, he does not draw any such distinction.

43. *Tār.* 148: 'born in Varendra in the east'; Cordier-*Cat.* II. 302: 'inhabitant of Bareṇḍi in Eastern India'; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xci, 95, 139: 'born in Varendra in Baṅgala'. S. K. Chatterji believes that the surname *gomin* corresponds to the modern Bengali cognomen *gui*. A. A. Macdonell (*IA*. 1903, p. 376) thinks that Kashmir was Candragomin's native place, but this is perhaps due to a misapprehension of Kalhaṇa's reference.

44. Sumpā informs us that Candragomin settled in Candradvīpa after his exile from Varendra. In a work of Candragomin in *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 362) he is expressly called *Dvaipa*.—For Candradvīpa, see *HB* p. 18. P. C. Bagchi (Introd. to *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, pp. 29-34) is inclined to think that Candradvīpa signifies the entire coast-line, but if it is taken to refer to a particular locality, he would identify it with the island of Sandwip in the district of Noakhali. There is no philological difficulty in deriving the word Sandwip from Candradvīpa.

45. Tāranātha tells us (p. 155) that Candra's grammar superseded Candrakīrti's

-yāna Sādhana mentioned above, Candragomin is credited with some Sanskrit Stotras on Tārā and Mañjuśrī,⁴⁶ a drama called *Lokānanda*⁴⁷ and an elegant but insipid religious Kāvya entitled *Śishya-lekha-dharma*⁴⁸ in the form of a letter to a pupil. None of these productions, if they really belong to the grammarian Candragomin, is of much consequence. The *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, however, is a much more remarkable work, which had currency at one time in Kashmir, Nepal, Tibet and Ceylon. Although there is no material divergence nor anything original (excepting the thirty-five rules mentioned above), it is not a mere copy but an attempt at a recast and improvement upon the rules of Pāṇini. As against the eight chapters of Pāṇini, it has six chapters of four sections each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being distributed over the whole book. The Sūtras being derived from Pāṇini, the work is in no sense un-Pāṇinian except in the fact that it rearranges the rules, occasionally simplifies their wording, reduces and modifies the Pratyāhāras, makes some changes in the terminology, distributes the Saṃjñās and altogether omits, as most Buddhist writers do, the Vedic rules⁴⁹. Its want of any striking originality or independence, however, must have proved fatal, and the system almost disappeared in the later history of Sanskrit grammar.

Samantabhadra, a grammar composed in Ślokas, and made it disappear.

46. The Tārā cult, to which Hiuen Tsang refers, must have been prevalent in the 6th century (see G. de Blonay, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la déesse Buddhique Tārā*, p. 17 f). Hirananda Sastri in *Origin and Cult of Tārā* (in *Memoirs of the Arch. Survey of India*, Calcutta 1925), thinks that the deity does not date further back than the 5th century. On Candragomin's *Āryā-tārā-antarvali-vidhi*, see S. C. Vidyabhushan, *Introd. to (Sarvajñamitra's) Sragdharā-stotra in Bauddha-stotra-saṃgraha* (Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1908), p. xx f.

47. Wint.-Ges. III. pp. 183, 399 ; Keith-drama, p. 168. The drama is known only in the Tibetan version in *Bstan-hgyur*. It is a Buddhist work dramatising the story of a certain Mañichūda who handed over his wife and children to a Brahman as an act of supreme generosity. The author of this drama cannot be the same as the dramatist Candaka or Candraka, who is placed by Kalhaṇa under Tuṅjina of Kashmir and who is quoted in the Anthologies.

48. Ed. I. P. Minayeff in *Zapiski*. iv. pp. 29-52, with the Tibetan text added by A. Ivanowski. It is said to have been written to a prince Ratnakīrti to persuade him to forsake the world. The Sanskrit text has 114 verses in different metres, whose chief theme is the misery of existence, written in the artificial Kāvya style. It contains a verse which is ascribed to Candragomin in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvali* (No. 3368) ; but the verse is missing in the Tibetan version. This verse is attributed to Candra by I-tsing. See H. Wenzel in *JRAS*. 1889, p. 1133 f.

49. In the matter of the Dhātu-pāṭha, Candra agrees pretty closely with Pāṇini, classifying the roots similarly into ten groups ; but within the classes he groups them according to the voices of verbs. Liebhich points out the interesting fact that the Dhātu-

With regard to the next important work, considerable doubt has been raised about its authorship, but its place of origin is generally admitted. This is the philosophical work of 215 memorial verses, which is known as the *Gauḍapāda-kārikā*⁵⁰ but which was probably entitled *Āgama-śāstra*. It is ascribed to Gauḍapāda, who is said to have been the pupil of Śuka and teacher's teacher (*parama-guru*) of the great Śaṅkara, and whose name or more probably descriptive title indicates that he belonged to Gauḍa. Max Walleser⁵¹ attempts to destroy the individuality of Gauḍapāda and establish that the *Kārikā* belongs to a Gauḍa school of Vedānta by adducing a passage from the *Naishkarmya-siddhi* (iv. 41. 4)⁵² of Sureśvara, where two stanzas from the *Gauḍapāda-Kārikā* and one from Śaṅkara's *Upadeśa-sāhasrī* are respectively mentioned as uttered by the Gauḍas and Drāviḍas. But since the latter reference (the plural being honorific) is to an individual author, Śaṅkara, who was Sureśvara's own teacher, we should normally expect that the other reference is also similarly to an individual author. The consideration of the problem falls outside our scope; but we may state that even if the authenticity of the tradition which connects Gauḍapāda with Śaṅkara is questioned,⁵³ there cannot be much doubt regarding the personality of the author who, also cited as Gauḍācārya, probably belonged to Gauḍa. It is not necessary here to enter into the question of the relation of the *Kārikā* to the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad*,⁵⁴ nor into

pāṭha of the Kātantra is in reality that of the Cāndra system as modified by Durgasiṃha, the genuine Kātantra Dhātu-pāṭha being preserved only in Tibetan and lost in Sanskrit. The Uṇādi words are disposed of in three books by Candra independently of Pāṇini, the suffixes being arranged according to their final letter, and the words being sometimes derived in a different way.

50. Ed. *An. SS.*, No. 10, Poona 1911.

51. In *Der altere Vedānta*, pp. 1, 6, 11. On this question see L. D. Barnett in *JRAS.* 1910, p. 1361 f; L. de la Vallée Poussin in *JRAS.* 1910, p. 134; H. Jacobi in *JAOS.* 1913, p. 52 note; Keith in *JRAS.* 1916, p. 377 f; S. K. Belvalkar in *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume* (Poona 1917) p. 171 f, in *ABORI.* v. 133 f, in his *Hist. of Ind. Philosophy*, II. 96-7 and in his *Basu Mallik Lectures on Vedānta*, Pt i, p. 182 f.

52. Ed. *BSS.* (2nd. ed.), pp. 192-93.

53. In his *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* (i. 4. 14 = iii. 15; ii. 1. 9 = i. 16), Śaṅkara quotes the *Kārikā* without the mention of Gauḍapāda's name, referring to him as *Sampradāya-vid* or *vedārtha-sampradāya-vid* Ācārya. On the other hand, in the commentary on the *Śvetāśvātara Upaniṣad* (ed. *An. SS.* i. 8, p. 30), Śaṅkara's authorship of which is not beyond question, the commentator cites his predecessor as Śuka-śiṣya Gauḍapādācārya. Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Kārikā* itself has not been accepted as authentic (see V. Bhattacharya, *AJV.* III. Pt. II. 102ff; M. Walleser, *op. cit.* p. 55, f. n.).

54. See V. Bhattacharya (who contends that the *Upaniṣad* is based on the *Kārikā*) in *PTOC.* II. 439 ff. and in *IHQ.* 1925, pp. 119 ff. and 295 ff; A. Venkatasubbiah (who thinks that the work consisted of more than four sections) in *IA.* LXII 181 ff and in *IHQ.* 1935, pp. 783 ff. and S. K. Belvalkar in the works cited.

its philosophical doctrine,⁵⁵ which is a curious blend of pre-Saṅkara Vedānta and Mādhyamika Śūnyavāda;⁵⁶ but since the work is said to have been actually quoted by some early commentators of the Mādhyamika school (c. 750 A.D.),⁵⁷ its comparative antiquity is established. The work consists of four parts of varying length, called respectively Āgama (29 verses), Vaitathya (38 verses), Advaita (48 verses) and Alāta-śānti (100 verses). It has been shown that the fourth section, in particular, the authorship of which has sometimes been questioned, is indebted to early Buddhistic philosophical works, for its words, arguments and images⁵⁸; and, considering the early prevalence of Buddhistic schools in Bengal this is not surprising. Gauḍapāda is also credited with the authorship of commentaries, respectively on Īśvarakrishṇa's *Sāṃkhya Kārikā*⁵⁹ and the *Uttara-gītā*⁶⁰; but while the latter work is of no great merit, the former appears to be largely based either upon the earlier *Māṭhara-vṛtti* or upon an unknown source which Māṭhara also utilised.⁶¹ The hypothesis of two Gauḍapādas has also been advanced; but there is nothing in these two commentaries which militates against their traditional ascription to the author of the *Kārikā*.

Even though the literary remains of Bengal, described above, in the centuries preceding the advent of the Pāla dynasty, are insufficient and uncertain, we come, for the first time, in the beginning of the 7th century, across distinct references to the literary diction of the Gauḍas. Bāṇabhaṭṭa informs us in a well known verse:⁶²

55. For which see V. S. Sukthankar in *WZKM*. XXII. (1908), pp. 137 ff.; H. Jacobi, *JAOS*. XXXIII (1913), pp. 52-54; *DG.-Phil.* I. 423 ff.; *R.-Phil.* II. 452 ff.

56. Radhakrishnan would sum up by saying that the *Kārikā* is "an attempt to combine the whole negative logic of the Mādhyamika with the positive idealism of the Upaniṣads" (*Ibid.* p. 465).

57. So in *Belv.-Phil.* II. 96 (no reference) and *Belv.-Lect.* (Śāntarakṣita and his commentator Kamalaśīla are mentioned, but no references are given).

58. See L. de la Vallée Poussin, *loc. cit.*; H. Jacobi, *loc. cit.*; discussed in detail by V. Bhattacharya in the works cited above. The influence is so great that *DG.-Phil.*, *op. cit.*, p. 423, thinks that the author "was possibly a Buddhist." Keith-*Lit.* p. 476 admits Buddhist influence, but believes that the ideas were developed independently by an Aupaniṣada school.

59. Ed. B. Tripathi in *Ben. SS.*, No. 9; trs. H. H. Wilson, *OTF.*, along with Colebrooke's trans. of the *Kārikās*; also trs. Satish Chandra Banerji, Fasc. i (all pub.), Calcutta 1898.—This work was probably known to Alberuni (see Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I. 132; II. 266 ff.) as the work of a Gauḍa hermit.

60. *VP*. 1910. The Dacca University Mss of the work (Nos. 4504, 558e) give somewhat different readings.

61. R. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya Philosophie* (2nd ed.); Belvalkar in *Bhandarkar Comm. Volume*, p. 171 and *Belv.-Lect.* p. 188; Keith, *Sāṃkhya System*, pp. 69-70.

62. *HC*. introductory verse 7.

“In the North there is mostly play upon words (Śleṣa),⁶³ in the West it is only the sense (Artha), in the South it is poetical fancy (Utprekṣā), in the Gaudas there is pomp of syllables (Akṣara-ḍambara).”

This apparently disparaging observation regarding the Gaudas is explained by the suggestion⁶⁴ that it reflects a partisan spirit on the part of the court-poet of Harṣavardhana, which is also clear from the feeling which he displays towards his patron's rival, the unnamed but much maligned king of Gauḍa. But the explanation does not become convincing when we consider that in this verse Bāṇabhaṭṭa is stating that poets of the four quarters of India respectively affect only a few peculiar literary excellences, and not all, some putting stress on sound, some on sense, some on both, while others indulge in a play of fancy; for in the next verse he regrets that it is difficult to find in one place all that are, in his opinion, desirable excellences of the Kāvya. The position has been often misunderstood, but the view we have taken will be clear if we consider the references to the Gauḍa Mārga or Gauḍī Rīti, which are found in the polemic poetics of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and which show that at least in the 7th and 8th centuries⁶⁵ the Gauḍī Rīti in its proper form was regarded as a distinct and original achievement in the sphere of literary diction. Along with the Vaidarbhī, the Gauḍī figures as one of the two most important modes of poetic expression, although the theorists are not agreed on the question of their relative superiority. While Bhāmaha (i. 31-32) is impatient with the conventional distinction and preference of the Vaidarbhī and declares his opinion that in its proper form the Gauḍīya diction is even superior, Daṇḍin shows a decided partiality for the Vaidarbha Mārga and a mild aversion to the Gauḍa. But taking the Vaidarbhī as the standard, in which are to be found the essential poetical excellences of a good diction, Daṇḍin believes that the Gauḍī is an easily distinguishable (*Prasphuṭāntara*) mode of expression which, however, often presents different aspect,⁶⁶ the conception of the Gaudas about the essentials of a diction being apparently different from that of the Vaidarbhas. The opinion of the theorists, therefore, seems to be that the ideals of composition differed fundamentally in these two types of literary production, the Vaidarbhī demanding the correct and classical manner and the Gauḍī preferring the fervid and the grandiose. Daṇḍin makes it clear that the Gaudas thereby often lose themselves in bombast and prolixity. If Bāṇabhaṭṭa singles out verbal bombast (*akṣara-ḍambara*) in the Gaudas, Daṇḍin likewise speaks of a kind of ‘mental

63. See V. Raghavan in *Kuppuswami Sastri Comm. Vol.*, pp. 89-90 and *NIA*. I. 214.

64. S. P. Bhattacharya, *The Gauḍī Rīti in Theory and Practice* (*IHQ*. 1927, p. 378).

65. On the dates of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin see *De-Poetics*, I. 48 f, 62 f.

66. Daṇḍin uses the term *viparyaya*, which does not mean *vaiparītya* or contrariety (as the *Hṛdayaṅgama* commentary takes it), but *anyathātva* or divergence. On this see *IHQ*. cited above, and Praksh Ch. Lahiri in *IHQ*. VII. (1931), p. 59 f.

bombast' and cumbrous ornamentation when he uses the terms *artha-ḍambara* and *alaṃkāraḍambara* in this connexion. Even if their personal preference betrayed disapproval, they had still to take the mode of the Gauḍas into account, presumably because it had attained a commendable position and found favour in an equal degree with a class of writers and readers. It seems, therefore, that even long before Bāṇabhaṭṭa and Daṇḍin, the Gauḍas exhibited a distinctive literary diction of their own,⁶⁷ which, side by side with the widely accepted Vaidarbhī, had an established tradition incapable of being completely ignored. Just as Bengal strove politically in these centuries against the constant aggression of Magadha, Thanesvar and Kashmir to maintain its independence, it attempted in the literary sphere to withstand the domination of the almost universally accepted Vaidarbha mode of expression and succeeded in establishing its originality.

These references are important in our literary history because they supply undeniable evidence that by the 7th and 8th centuries there must have grown up in Bengal a Sanskrit culture which attained such importance as necessitated recognition of its characteristic method of expression. Apart from the lucubrations of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Vāmana in the 9th century expressly states⁶⁸ that the discussion is not academic, but that the names of the recognised literary dictions were derived from the fact that the particular diction was prevalent in the particular locality⁶⁹. It is probable, therefore, that the theory of diction arose, even before Daṇḍin and Vāmana who tacitly accept it, from an empirical analysis of the prevailing peculiarities of literary expression in different localities. This would furnish enough ground for the inference of a lost Gauḍa literature, which received recognition from the theorists, but over the merits of which they entertained an honest difference of opinion. In the following centuries, however, the much criticised

67. In the absence of proper data it is impossible to determine when the distinction between Vaidarbha and Gauḍa modes was first recognised. H. Jacobi (*Māhārāṣṭrī* p. xvi f) suggests that the simpler Vaidarbha style was a reaction against the older and more elaborate Gauḍa style and came into existence probably in the 3rd century A. D. It is possible to argue, on the contrary, that the Gauḍa style, which asserts itself and more in the later Kāvya, was itself a symbol of further development, exhibiting a tendency to greater elaboration. Both the standpoints ignore the possibility of the two styles developing concurrently as rival modes. The controversy of the rhetoricians makes it probable that both the Ritis developed side by side and entered into a competition for mastery.—Bharata in his *Nāṭya-śāstra* (ed. Grosset, vi. 26) speaks of four dramatic modes or Pravṛttis, namely, Āvantī, Pañchāla-madhyamā, Dākṣiṇtyā and Oḍra-Māgadhī, the last of which is expressly stated to have been employed in the eastern provinces, including Aṅga, Vaṅga, Pauṇḍra and Nepāla [xiv. 45-47], there being no special Gauḍi Pravṛtti.

68. *Kāvyaḷaṃkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* i. 2. 10.

69. So also Kuntaka [end of the 10th century] in his *Vakrokti-jīvitā* [ed. S. K. De], 2nd ed., p. 45.

Gauḍī Rīti must have overstepped its geographical limits ; and, having been found even in non-Gauḍa works, it became in later Poetics a generic name for a particular kind of pompous diction, abounding in alliteration and long compounds ; and as such, it decidedly declined in the favour of the theorists.⁷⁰

When we come to the 10th and 11th centuries, the evidence becomes more definite that not only Sanskrit culture but also Sanskrit literature, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, flourished in Bengal, although their contribution is still not sufficiently extensive nor outstanding. We have a larger number of more elaborate inscriptional panegyrics in Sanskrit, from the 9th century A.D., which are creditable compositions ; but they display the ordinary characteristics of North Indian Praśastis of a similar nature, and do not call for special remarks as literary productions. Some of these epigraphic records, however, give us interesting glimpses into the assiduous culture of Sanskrit by persons who were not professional scholars or men of letters, but highly placed officials and politicians. The Bādāl Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla,⁷¹ for instance, gives us a vivid account of the scholarly attainments of one of the minister families of the Pāla kings, which receives special commendation for its knowledge of Vedic literature. In this family Darbhapāṇi, who was the minister of Devapāla, and his grandson Kedāramiśra, who also held the same position, are said to have mastered the four Vidyās ; while Kedāra's son Guravamiśra acquired proficiency in the Vedas, Āgamas, Nīti, and Jyotiṣa, and distinguished himself by his exposition of the Vedic works. The Bāngarh copper-plate Grant⁷² of Mahīpāla I mentions the study of *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Tarka*, while proficiency in *Veda*, *Vedānta* and *Pramāṇa*, and in the *Kaṭhuma* recension of the *Sāmaveda*, is referred to in the Monghyr copper-plate⁷³ of Devapāla, Amgachi copper-plate of Vighrahapāla⁷⁴ and the Manahali copper-plate⁷⁵ of Madanapāla. The colophon to the *Hari-carita* Kāvya of Caturbhuja mentions the Varendra Brahmins of the time of Dharmapāla as experts in Śruti, Smṛti, Purāṇa, Vyākaraṇa and Kāvya. Similar references occur in other inscriptions of the Pālas and those of contemporary dynasties. The most interesting record, however, of the political, literary and

70. It is curious that at the end of the 10th century Rājaśekhara, who recognises but does not appear to show much admiration for the composition of the Gauḍas in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, makes Māgadhī take the place of the Gauḍī in the enumeration of the Rītis in his *Karpūra-mañjarī* [i. 1] ; while Bhoja in the 11th century follows him in mentioning the Māgadhī, along with Gauḍī, although he regards the former as a Khaṇḍa-rīti. But the Māgadhī as a separate Rīti did not have much recognition ; it came into existence through the scholastic zeal for distinctions displayed by later writers, which led to a constant multiplication of the number of literary modes of expression.

71. GL, 71.

72. Ibid.

73. Ibid. 39.

74. EI. xv. 295.

75. GL. 147.

scholarly attainments of a striking personality is to be found in the Praśasti⁷⁶ of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva of Bālavālabhī, who flourished under Harivarman.

These indications of cultural activity, however, are not fully borne out by the actual literary remains of this period; for, apart from Buddhistic Tāntric writings, the literature which has survived is scanty and inadequate: in the sphere of poetical and dramatic literature, however, some of the well-known classical works have been claimed for Bengal, but the proofs adduced in support of such claims are slender and uncertain.⁷⁷ The assumption,⁷⁸ for instance, that the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta is a Bengal work is purely gratuitous and hypothetical. A Bengal tradition of doubtful value, again, would credit Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, author of the *Venī-saṃhāra*, to Bengal; for he is alleged to be one of the five Kanauj Brāhmaṇas brought to Bengal by Ādiśūra. Unless corroborated by independent evidence these traditions of Bengal match-makers and panegyrists of big families are hardly of much value for historical purposes, particularly for events of comparatively early times.⁷⁹ There is no satisfactory evidence, again, to identify Murāri, son of Vardhamānāṅka of the Maudgalya-gotra and Tantumatī, and author of the *Anargha-rāghava*,⁸⁰ with the Murāri, who is given as one of the progenitors of the Bengal Vaidika Brahmans. Equally uncertain is the similar tradition which connects Śrīharṣa, son of Śrīhīra and Māmalla-devī and author of the *Naiṣadha-carita*,⁸¹ with Bengal; for Śrīharṣa of the Bengal genealogists is described as the son of Medhātithi or Tithimedhā! This last claim has been argued⁸² at some

76. In the Bhuvanesvara inscription, *EI.* VI. 203; *IB.* 32. For other inscriptional references to Sanskrit studies in Bengal see *HSL.* II. 207-14 (Calcutta B.E. 1229 = 1932 A.D.).

77. Those who put forward such theories, without much justification, often forget that the onus of proof lies on them who make these assumptions and that considerations of personal bias or local patriotism should not prompt or control the evidence.

78. *JASB.* 1930, pp. 241-45.

79. Cf. Ch. xv. Appendix I.

80. Of Murāri's place of origin and activity nothing is known; but he mentions Māhiṣmatī as the seat of the Kalachuris. See *Keith-Drama*, pp. 225-26.

81. There are numerous editions with the different commentaries: (1) with the *Prakāśa* of Nārāyaṇa (*NSP*). (2) with the *Jivātu* of Mallinātha, ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsagar, 2 Vol. Calcutta 1875, 1876; also ed. in parts, Pts. I-II (cantos i-xii). Trichur 1924, 1926. (3) with the commentaries of Nārāyaṇa, Bharatamallika and Vaṃśīvadana (Cantos i-iii), ed. Nityasvarup Brahmachari Calcutta B.E. 1326 (= 1920 A.D.). (4) the *Bibl. Ind.* ed. (Calcutta 1836, 1855), is in two parts; the first part contains cantos i-xi with Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa's commentary, and the second part, edited by E. Roer, contains cantos xii-xxii, with Nārāyaṇa's commentary. The Eng. tr. by K. K. Handiqui (Lahore 1934) gives notes and extracts from several published commentaries.

82. *SBS.*, III. pp. 159-94. See also *IC.* ii. 576-79. Śrīharṣa's Bengal origin need not follow, as Nārāyaṇa in his commentary thinks, from his use (xiv. 51) of the word

length, but the evidence is not conclusive. Some plausibility is afforded by the reference (vii. 110) to a Praśasti which the poet is said to have composed for some unnamed king of Gauḍa, but we also learn that he was patronised by the king of Kānyakubja (xxii. 26) and that his work received the approval of the Kashmirian scholars (xvi. 131).⁸³ The king of Kānyakubja has been identified with Jayacandra of Kanauj, who flourished in the second half of the 12th century.⁸⁴

ulūlu as an auspicious sound made by women on festive occasions. Apart from the fact that the word appears to be as old as the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (iii. 19. 3), K. K. Handiqui (*op. cit.* pp. 541-42) has shown that it is not an exclusively Bengali custom, being found in writers who had no connection with Bengal, especially in some Jaina writers of Western India. Murāri uses the word in connection with Sītā's marriage (iii. 55), but his Maithili commentator, Rucipati Upādhyāya, explains it as a South Indian custom. The Southerner Mallinātha, on the other hand, believes it to be a Northern custom! Similar remarks apply to the reference (xv. 45) to the custom of wearing conch-bangle, which is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Virāṭa xi. 1) and the *Kādambarī*. The argument based on the Gauḍī Rīti does not carry much weight; but more relevant if not definitely conclusive, is the indiscriminate use in alliteration and chiming of the three sibilants, the two nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ba* and *va*, *ya* and *ja* as sounds of equivalent value. Rhetoricians, however, permit such interchange in verbal figures.

83. It is curious that this reference to the appreciation by Kashmirian scholars is found, not in its proper place at the end of the work but at the end of canto xvi. It is also puzzling that both the poem *Naiṣadha-carita* and the philosophical treatise *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* appear to refer to each other, leading to the curious conclusion of their simultaneous production by the same author. The genuineness of the brief autobiographical verses, which contain these references and which are placed, in a scattered way, at the end of each canto, is therefore, open to considerable doubt; but it is possible that they embody a tradition the value of which need not be entirely rejected even on the supposition of their being spurious. We learn from these verses that Śrīharṣa was also the author of a Campū called *Nava-sāhasāṅka-carita* (xxii. 22), a *Sthairya-vicāra-prakaraṇa* (iv. 123), an *Arṇava-varṇana* (ix. 160), a *Śiva-śakti-siddhi* (xviii. 154), a *Chinda-praśasti* (xvii. 222) and a *Śrī-vijaya-praśasti* (v. 138). The punning reference to the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khāḍya* is apparently justified by the express declaration (x. 137) of unrivalled labours in the science of logic, as well as by the philosophical digression in canto xvii. A late (and probably Bengal) commentator, Gopīnātha Ācārya, believes (R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, iv. 212) in his *Harṣa-hṛdaya* commentary on the *Naiṣadha*^o that the *Vijaya-praśasti* mentioned above is in praise of king Vijayasena of Bengal; but Cāṇḍu Paṇḍita and other commentators, as well as Rājaśekhara Sūri in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (1348 A.D.), make Śrīharṣa a protégé of Jayacandra of Kanauj (*HB*. p. 215).

84. G. Bühler in *JBRAS*. 1871, p. 31 f; 1875, pp. 279-87. This date has been questioned, see R. P. Chanda in *IA*. xlii. 83 f, 286 f. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar in *IA*. 1913, pp. 83-84; N. N. Dasgupta in *IC*. p. 576.

Śrīharṣa claims originality for his work (viii. 109) as that of "a traveller on a path unseen by the race of poets"; but as a poem his work displays more learning than real poetry. An elaborate and pedantic production of twenty-two cantos, it spins⁸⁵ out and embellishes only a part of the simple and attractive epic story of Nala and Damayantī out of all recognition; but the concern of the undoubtedly talented master of diction and metre is not so much with the poetic possibilities of the theme, as with the display of his own skill and learning so characteristic of later decadent poets. The work has been regarded as one of the five traditional Mahākāvya and has been favoured by a section of learned Indian opinion,⁸⁶ but it would be an acquisition of dubious value to Bengal if its Bengal origin were finally proved.

The problem is more difficult with regard to the *Caṇḍakauśika*⁸⁷ of Kṣemīśvara on account of the meagreness and uncertainty of the data for a definite conclusion regarding its place of origin. The drama deals in five acts with the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* legend of Hariścandra and Viśvāmitra, but there is hardly anything distinctive in its style and treatment. The play works out the effect of the curse of the irascible sage Viśvāmitra upon the upright king Hariścandra, who unwittingly offended him, and describes the loss of his kingdom, wife and child, and the ultimate restoration of everything to the satisfaction of all. There is some interest in the idea of trial of character by suffering, but the piling up of disasters as an atonement of what appears to be an innocent offence unnecessarily prolongs the agony, and the divine intervention at the end is dramatically too flat. The story lacks dramatic quality and improves very little by the poor execution and mediocre

85. The contents of cantos vi, vii, xv, xix-xxii, as well as the greater portion of xvii are matters not to be found in the epic. A whole canto of 109 verses is devoted to a description of the heroine's entire bodily charms, beginning from the top of the head to the toe of the feet! The panegyric of the Vaitāliya occupies the whole of canto xix (67 verses), while Damayantī's Svayaṃvara extends over five cantos. The poem ends with the married bliss of Nala and Damayantī. Poetic merits apart, the work is written for a learned audience, and its chief interest lies in the fact that it is in many ways a repository of traditional learning. For an estimate of the work, cf. Dr. S. K. De—*History of Sanskrit Literature* (Calcutta Univ.) pp. 325-30.

86. Making allowance for artificiality and dubious literary taste, there are, however, forceful passages, e.g., the description of the personified vices in canto xvii, of the moon-rise in canto xxii, of the five Nalas in canto xiii, and the treatment of Nala's character in its emotional conflict in canto ix.

87. Ed. Jaganmohan Tarkālamkār, Calcutta 1867; also ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta 1884; ed. in litho MS. form, by Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī, Gurjara Press, Bombay 1860. Trs. into German under the title *Kauśikas Zorn* by Ludwig Fritze, Leipzig 1883.—The name of the author is sometimes confused with the Kashmirian Kṣemendra. Kṣemīśvara, who designates himself as Ārya, does not mention the name of his father, but his grandfather is named Vijayaprakoṣṭha.

poetry of Kṣeṃśvara. A verse in the Prologue states that the work was composed and produced at the court of Mahīpāla. Haraprasāda Śāstrī⁸⁸ is inclined to identify the dramatist's patron with Mahīpāla of Bengal, chiefly on the ground that the king is said in the drama to have driven away the Karṇāṭakas, who, in Śāstrī's opinion, were the invading armies of Rājendra Cola I in 1023,⁸⁹ or the Karṇāṭas who came in the train of the Cedi kings at a later time. If this were so, then Kṣeṃśvara's place of activity would be Bengal; and it is noteworthy in this connection that the two oldest complete palm-leaf manuscripts of the drama, dated respectively in A.D. 1250 and 1387, are preserved in Nepal⁹⁰. On the other hand, Pischel believes⁹¹ Kṣeṃśvara's patron to be the Gurjara-Pratihara ruler Mahīpāla I of Mahodaya (=Kānyakubja) under whom Rājaśekhara wrote his *Bala-bhārata* (i. 7) and whom Fleet⁹² identifies with the Mahīpāla of the Asni inscription, dated in 917 A.D. Kṣeṃśvara's assertion of his patron's victory over the Karṇāṭas is explained as the courtier's version of the contest with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III, who for his part claims victory over Mahodaya.⁹³ Kṣeṃśvara was also the author of another drama, *Naiṣadlānanda*,⁹⁴ which deals in seven acts with the story of Nala.

A similar uncertainty attaches to the *Kīcaka-vadha*⁹⁵ of Nīṭivarman which may have

88. Śāstrī-Cat. VII. No. 5315; S. K. Aiyangar in *AJV.* II. 559 ff.; *PB.* 73; *BI.* 1. 251-52; J. C. Ghosh in *IC.* II. 354-56; but see K. A. Nīlakānta Śāstī in *JOR.* VI. 191-98 and *IC.* II. 797-99.

89. This is contested by S. K. Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pp. 559 f, to which R. D. Banerji replies in *JBORS.* XIV. 512 f. See Nīlakānta Śāstrī in the articles cited above.

90. Now in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (Śāstrī-Cat. Nos. 5315 and 5316). Other Known, but comparatively modern, MSS. are noticed in the same Catalogue, as well as in the *Descriptive Cat.* of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, VI. Nos. 222-23, pp. 134-5 (three MSS. in Devanāgarī), and in P. P. S. Śāstrī's Tanjore Catalogue, VIII. Srirangam 1930, pp. 3390-93=Burnell's *Classified Index*, III. 169 (three MSS.); *Descriptive Cat. of Govt. Collection in Bhandarkar O. R. Institute*, XIV. pp. 77-82 (five MSS. in Devanāgarī).

91. *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1883, p. 1217 f.

92. *IA.* XXVI. 175-78. For the identification of Mahīpāla cf. *HB* pp. 143-44.

93. See Sten Konow, *Indische Drama*, p. 87; P. Peterson, *Second Report*, p. 63; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report* 1897, p. xi; Keith-*Drama*, p. 239.—The only Alaṅkāra work which cites the *Caṇḍa-kauśika* is the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, which belongs probably to Orissa in the first half of the 15th century (See *De-Poetics.* I. 233 f.).

94. MS. dated in 1611 A.D. noticed in Peterson, *Three Reports*, pp. 340-42, with extracts; but no personal account of the author is found in the work.

95. Ed. S. K. De, with the commentary of Janārdanasena and with extracts from the commentary of Sarvānanda-nāga, *DOT.* 1929.

been composed in Bengal or in the adjoining territory of Kaliṅga.⁹⁶ It is a short artificial poem in five cantos (177 verses), which deals with the well-known episode of the Virāṭa-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*; but the simple and vigorous story of the epic is transformed into a pedantic means for the display of the author's skill and learning in the manipulation of the language, for the ingenious use of double meaning (*Śleṣa*) and clever chimings (*Yamaka*). The work, however, is singular in the attempt it makes to include both *Śleṣa* (canto iii) and *Yamaka* (cantos i-ii, iv-v) in its scope; and it is the only Kāvya, so far known, which fulfils the rhetorician's dictum about the Āśis prelude. As an early example of this type of Sanskrit composition, it shows considerable talent; and it is no wonder that it is quoted by a large number of grammarians, rhetoricians and lexicographers. One of the earliest of such quotations is made by Nami-sādhū, who wrote his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyalaṅkāra* in 1069 A.D.⁹⁷ Nothing is known of the author, Nītivārman, except that he lived in the court of an otherwise unknown prince who might have ruled in Bengal or in Kaliṅga.

The only writer who can be definitely assigned to Bengal is Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is known to us from stray quotations of his verses in the Sanskrit Anthology of Śārṅgadharma;⁹⁸ but the question of his date and identity is not free from difficulty. He has been identified with Abhinanda, son of Jayanta and author of the *Kādambarī*-

96. In two verses of doubtful interpretation (i. 21; i. 7), the author refers to his patron in connection with Kaliṅga either as a ruler or as a conqueror. A covert allusion appears to be made to this patron's name or designation in the word *vigraha* employed in the *Yamaka*, but considering the date of the work, an allusion to the Vigrahapālas of Bengal does not seem likely. For a discussion of this question see S. K. De's edition, pp. xii-xiv and 93-94, 98-99. The poem has been preserved in Bengali MSS. only, and all the known commentaries are of Bengal origin and indicate the currency of the poem in Bengal; and there is nothing, excepting the verse i. 21 mentioned above, which connects it with Kaliṅga.

97. For other early writers who quote this work, See S. K. De, *Introd.* to the above edition.

98. The *Śārṅgadharma-paddhati* (dated about 1363 A.D.) quotes twice (Nos. 1090, 3485, the former verse assigned to Śubhāṅga in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* iv. 53) Gauḍa Abhinanda; but it also quotes an Abhinanda (Nos. 3763, 3917) without the descriptive title. An Abhinanda, and not Gauḍa Abhinanda, is quoted five times (Nos. 75, 130, 313, 319, 457) in the *Kavindra-vacana*⁰, twenty-two times in the *Sadukti*⁰, six times in the *Sūkti-muktāvalī* of Jalhana (of which two verses are traceable in the *Rāma-carita* ii. 98, 99) and once in the *Padyāvalī* (No. 149). Fragments of Abhinanda's verses are also quoted by Ujjvaladatta (on Uṇādi-sūtra i, 2, 48; ii. 103; iv. 117), who refers to Abhinanda's description of the Vindhya Hills, and by Rāyamukuta (on Amara i. 1, 7; ii. 5, 4, 10). For a résumé of these passages see F. W. Thomas, *Kavindra-vacana*⁰, pp. 20-22.

*kathā-sāra*⁹⁹ on the ground chiefly that the author of this metrical summary of Bāṇa's prose romance describes one of his ancestors as a Gauḍa ; but the evidence is obviously not conclusive, and none of the anthology verses ascribed to Abhinanda or Gauḍa Abhinanda is traceable in this work.¹⁰⁰ There is, however, no chronological obstacle in the way of the proposed identification. The author of the *°Kathā-sāra* informs us that his fifth ancestor, Śaktisvāmin, flourished under Muktāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir towards the end of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century ; and as the poet Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, is mentioned and quoted by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta¹⁰¹ towards the end of 10th century, his date may be fixed at about the first half of the 9th century. The Abhinanda of the Anthologies could not have been of a much later date, having been quoted in the *Kavindravacana-samuccaya*¹⁰² which cannot be assigned to a period later than the 10th century¹⁰³ ; but it is not clear if this Abhinanda is identical with Gauḍa Abhinanda, who is cited (along with Abhinanda without the descriptive term Gauḍa) in the *Śārngadhara-paddhati*.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the only Kāvya of this period, the Bengal origin of which is known with certainty, is the *Rāmacarita*¹⁰⁵ of Sandhyākaranandin, a curious but important work which belongs to the class of the so-called historical Kāvya. By means of cons-

99. Ed. Kāvya-mālā, 11, NSP. 1899.

100. For a discussion of the question see S. K. Dē, *Padyāvali*, pp. 182-84.

101. In the printed text (Kāvya-mālā 25, Bombay 1911, p. 142) of Abhinavagupta's *Locana*, the work is ascribed to Bhaṭṭa Jayantaka but the India Office MS. (No. 1008 E 1135), which we consulted, assigns it to Abhinanda, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta. The Kashmirian Kṣemendra in the 11th century also quotes Abhinanda and his *°Kathā-sāra* (in his *Suṣṛṭta-tilaka* iii. 6 = *°Kathā-sāra* i. 16). Kṣemendra informs us (iii. 29) that Abhinanda was fond of the Anuṣṭubh metre, in which, for the most part, the *°Kathā-sāra* is composed.

102. F. W. Thomas, *loc. cit.*, would identify this Abhinanda with the author of the *°Kathā-sāra*, as well as with Gauḍa Abhinanda, but no evidence is adduced.

103. On Abhinanda see Aufrecht, *ZDMG.* xxvii. 6, 27 ; G. Bühler, *IA.* II. 102-6 ; Peterson *Forth Report*, p. vii.

104. These Abhinandas are probably to be distinguished from Abhinanda, the author of *Rāmacarita* (GOS. No. xlv), who describes himself as the son of Śātānanda, and probably also from Abhinava-panḍita, also a Gauḍa, whose *Yogavāśiṣṭha-saṃkṣepa* in six Prakaraṇas and forty-six Sargas is noticed by Weber (Berlin Cat., No. 643) and who is described in the colophon to the work as *tarka-vādiśvara-sahityācārya-gauḍamaṇḍalālāṃkāra-śrīmat*. The problem of identity is complicated by the fact that the editor of the *Rāmacarita* makes a plausible case of its author having belonged to Gauḍa ; but the identity of his patron Yuvarāja Hāravarṣa, son of Vikramaśīla, with Devapāla, son of Dharmapāla, is, without further evidence, highly problematic. On this point see *HB* pp. 122-24.

105 *HB* p. 150, f.n. 1.

tant play upon words (Śleṣa) and splitting up of word-units in different ways, sustained throughout in its 220 Āryā verses, it gives in four chapters, after the manner of Kavi-rāja's *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*, the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, on the one hand, and the history of Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, on the other. Each verse of the text has, therefore, a twofold application ; but while the epic application is not difficult to make out, the local and contemporary allusions to Rāmapāla's exploits require elucidation. The Sanskrit commentary, which accompanies the text and which is not composed by the author himself,¹⁰⁶ explains the historical details, but unfortunately it ends abruptly with ii. 35. There is a Kavi-praśasti at the end of the work, which informs us that the author was the son of Prajāpatinandin and grandson of Pināka-nandin and belonged to Puṇḍravardhana in Varendra. Prajāpati was a Sāndhivigrahika of the royal court of Rāmapāla ; and from the last verse of the text it is probable that the work was completed in the reign of Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāla and third in succession from him. As already noted above, the main theme of the poem is an account of a successful revolution in North Bengal, the murder of Mahipāla II, occupation of Varendra by the rebels, and the restoration of Rāmapāla, Mahipāla's youngest brother, to his paternal kingdom ; but the story is continued even after the death of Rāmapāla and concludes with some allusions to Madanapāla's reign. As a chronicle of almost contemporary events, of which the author must have possessed a direct knowledge, it possesses considerable importance for reconstructing the lost history of this period. The author, calling himself Kalikāla-Vālmiki, tells us that he is not only a poet well-versed in the art of rhetoric but also a great linguist. The skill he shows in the manipulation of words in a difficult metre, which, however, is possible only in an accommodating language like Sanskrit, is characteristic of later Sanskrit poets ; but it certainly makes his work a marvel of verbal jugglery, especially as the author has to crowd within the limits of some two hundred verses a great deal of matter concerning simultaneously Raghupati Rāma and Gauḍādhira Rāmapāla. The author claims that his Śleṣa is not distressing (*akleśana*) ; it might not have been so to his contemporaries to whom the events narrated were probably familiar, but on account of this very limited and local interest it must have failed in its appeal to posterity and became forgotten. As an interesting example of the Śleṣa-kāvya, which includes both mythical and historical themes in its scope, it may be accepted as a singular *tour de force*, but the very purposive character of the work and its necessarily artificial form of expression make it a poetical curiosity rather than a real poem.

In the sphere of the technical Śāstras, on the other hand, we possess a fair amount of literature ; but its total achievement cannot be regarded as very high. The epigraphic records tell us a great deal about Vedic¹⁰⁷ and philosophical studies in Bengal in this period, but no early work on Vedic literature has survived ; and of the early philosophical specu-

106. RC.² p. vi.

107. On Vedic Studies in Bengal, see *HSL*. II. 202-226. From the inscriptional references it appears that all the four Vedas were studied, but the Vājasaneyi recension of the Yajurveda prevailed.

lations of Bengal we know nothing. The only philosophical work of this period, of which, however, Bengal may feel justly proud, is the wellknown *Nyāya-kandalī* commentary ¹⁰⁸ of Śrīdhara Bhaṭṭa on Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* Bhāṣya on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra. From the concluding verses of this work we learn that Śrīdhara was the son of Baladeva and Abbokā (v. l. Abhrokā, Ambhokā, Acchokā) and belonged to Bhūriśreṣṭhi in Dakṣiṇa-Rādhā, ¹⁰⁹ which has been identified with the village of Bhursut, near Burdwan. The work was written at the instance of one Pāṇḍudāsa, and is dated in Śaka 913 (or 910)¹¹⁰ which is equivalent to 991 (or 988) A.D. From references in the work itself it appears that Śrīdhara also wrote *Advaya-siddhi* (p. 5), *Tattva-saṃvādinī* (p. 82), *Tattva-prabodha* (p. 146) and a *Samgraha-ṭīkā* ¹¹¹ (p. 159); but none of these works, which are concerned apparently with Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā, has come down to us. It falls outside our scope to enter into the philosophical views of Śrīdhara, but the work is important for having placed for the first time a theistic interpretation on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.¹¹² It is curious, however, that this work found little favour in the country of its origin, and the two best known commentaries on it are respectively written by the Maithila Padmanābha and the Jaina Rājaśekhara.

The tradition of Candragomin is supposed to have been maintained in Bengal by two well-known Buddhist grammarians, Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreya-rakṣita; but the

108. VSS. No. 6; trs. Ganganath Jha in the *Pandit*, new Series, Vols. 25-34; reprinted E. J. Lazarus, Benares 1916. Large sections of Śrīdhara's work have been translated into English by B. Faddegon in his *Vaiśeṣika Systems*, Amsterdam 1918.

109. The verse states that in addition to pious and learned Brahmans many Śreṣṭhins lived there (*bhūriśreṣṭhi* [v.l. *srṣṭi*]-*janaśraya*). It is probably the same as Bhūriśreṣṭhika in Rādhā mentioned by Kriṣṇamiśra in his *Prabodha-candrodaya* (ii. 7) as the seat of proud Brahmans.

110. The printed text reads: *tryadhika-daśottara-nava-śata-śākābde*, which is also the reading of Bühler's MS. (*Kashmir Report*, p. 76, and Appendix p. cxliv); but *adhika-daśottara*, which is perhaps a mislection, is found in some MSS, noticed by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report 1883-84*, p. 314) and R. L. Mitra (*Notices VIII*. 45, No. 2589; also x. 287, No. 4186). .:

111. Kavirāj (III. 115, note) believes that the *Samgraha-ṭīkā* was not an independent work but referred to the *Nyāya-kandalī* itself, which was a *ṭīkā* on the *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* of Praśastapāda; but the reference in the text does not appear to bear out his conjecture.

112. Śrīdhara's famous contemporary, Udayana, who date his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in Śaka 905 (984 A.D.) and who is the author also of a sub-commentary, entitled *Kiraṇāvalī*, on Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya*, as well as of two independent polemical works *Kusumāñjali* and *Ātma-tattva-viveka*, is sometimes connected with Bengal by a tradition which associates him with the Bhāduri Brahmans of North Bengal. But the unreliability of the tradition is indicated by Udayana's disparaging remarks about the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka who, in his opinion, lacked a true knowledge of the Vedic texts. The reference may be to a school or

place of activity of these two authors cannot be definitely determined.¹¹³ Jinendrabuddhī, who styles himself Bodhisattva-deśīyācārya, was the author of an extensive commentary entitled *°Vivaraṇa-pañjikā* (commonly cited as the *Nyāsa*),¹¹⁴ on the *Kāśikā*; while Maitreya-rakṣita composed *Tantra-pradīpā* commentary¹¹⁵ on Jinendrabuddhī's work, as well as *Dhātu-pradīpā*,¹¹⁶ which professes to follow Bhīmasena's recension of the *Dhātu-pāṭha*.¹¹⁷ The conjecture that Vimalamati, author of the *Bhāga-vṛtti*, belonged to Bengal, is too fanciful to require serious consideration.¹¹⁸ The fact that these grammatical treatises were popular in Bengal furnishes an argument of uncertain value; for Bengal had admittedly been the ultimate place of refuge of most major and minor systems of Sanskrit grammar,

to an individual; but Varadarāja in his *Kusumāñjali-bodhinī* commentary (ed. Sarasvatī Bhavana Texts. No. 4, Benares 1922, p. 123) explains this reference as a pointed allusion to the Pañjikākara. The identification of this Pañjikā-kāra with Śālikanātha, author of *Prakaraṇa-pañjikā* (ed. Benares 1903-4) and a direct pupil of Prabhākara, is plausible but unproved. It is noteworthy that much later (c. 13th century) Gaṅgeśa Upādhyāya refers to the Gauḍa Mīmāṃsaka in almost identical terms in his *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* (ed. Bibl. Ind., Śabda-Pramāṇa p. 88). See Chintaharan Chakravarti in *IA*. 1929, p. 202 f.

113. D. C. Bhattacharya (*Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal* in *AJV*. 1. Pt. i. p. 189f) suspects the Bengal origin of these writers from the fact that all the commentaries on the *Nyāsa*, for instance, are by Bengal writers. S. C. Chakravarti in the works cited below appears to be of the same opinion. The extraordinary argument (D. C. Bhattacharya, *ibid.* p. 201), however, that Maitreya was the title and Rakṣita the real name, and that a clan of a Varendra Brahmins is called Maitra or Maitreya today requires no serious consideration; for one might as well argue that Rakṣita being the cognomen of some Rādhīya Kāyasthas at the present time, our author was a Bengal Kāyastha! The argument from modern cognomen is unwarranted and hasty. As a Buddhist writer, the name Maitreya-rakṣita is quite intelligible by itself.

114. Ed. Srish Chandra Chakravarti, in 3 vols., Rajshahi 1913-25. This work is to be distinguished from the *Anu-nyāsa*, rival commentary by Indu or Indumitra (*IHQ*. 1931, p. 418), who is probably earlier than Maitreya-rakṣita but who need not be assumed gratuitously to have belonged to Bengal.

115. On this work see S. C. Chakravarti in the works cited, and D. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* A fragmentary MS. is noticed in Mitra, *Notices*, vi. 140, No. 2076, and another incomplete MS. is said to exist in Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi. It is referred to in the author's *Dhātu-pradīpā*; and the author is quoted by a series of grammarians and lexicographers (Puruṣottama, Ujjvaladatta, Rāyamukuta, Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Sarvānanda, Śaraṇadeva, etc.), Sarvānanda (1160 A.D.) being the earliest known writer to cite Maitreya-rakṣita.

116. Ed. Srish Chandra Chakravarti, Rajshahi 1919; *Egg.-Cat.* 182, No. 687/434a.

117. Referred to in the opening verse.

118. Assigned to a period between 850 and 1050 A.D. (See *IHQ*. 1931, pp. 413-18).

including the Kātantra, the Mugdha-bodha, the Saṃkṣipta-sāra and the Sārasvata. Of lexical writers, we know nothing about the date and identity of Subhūticandra, the Tibetan version of whose commentary (called *Kāmadhenu*) on the *Amara-kośa* exists in *Bstan-hgyur*¹¹⁹ and who is sometimes assigned¹²⁰ to Bengal. He is quoted four times by Rāya-mukūṭa and once by Śaraṇadeva.¹²¹

Among exponents of technical Śāstras the medical writers of Bengal deserve mention. The well-known medical authority, Mādhava,¹²² son of Indukara¹²³ and author of a learned work on pathology and diagnosis, entitled *Rug-viniścaya*¹²⁴ (or simply *Nidāna*), is assigned¹²⁵ to this period, but whether Bengal can really claim him is doubtful.¹²⁶ It is true that mediaeval Bengal developed peculiar names, surnames

119. Ed. Satis Chandra Vidyabhusan, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1912, (only one fasc. published of the Tibetan text). Cf. Cordier, *op. cit.* iii. 465 ; Th. Zachariae, *Die indische Worterbuecher, GIPA*. Strassburg 1897, p. 21. According to Vidyabhusan (p. ix), Subhūticandra is also cited by Liṅgabhaṭṭa, another commentator on *Amara*.

120. *IC*. II. 261.

121. Ed. Trivandrum 1909, p. 82.

122. In the work itself the name is given as Mādhava, and not as Mādhavakara, which is found only in some commentaries ; and it is doubtful whether *kara* was at all a cognomen ; for his father's name Indukara is intelligible in itself and need not lead to any supposition of Bengal origin. Cf. the name Bhānukara, author of *Rasika-jivana* who never belonged to Bengal. The evidence of Arabic sources (Jolly, *Medicin*, p. 7) points to the 9th century as the date of Mādhava.

123. There is no evidence for presuming that Indukara was a medical writer and identifying him with Indu (where *-kara* is dropped) who is cited by Kṣīrasvāmin in his comment on the *Vanaśadhivarga* of the *Amara-kośa*. He wrote, as the quotations show, on the topic of *Vanaśadhi*, but the supposition (*IC*. II. 153-54) that his work was named *Nigaṇṭu* is entirely gratuitous. Indu is by no means an uncommon Indian name, and hazarding of guesses of identity of authors having similar names is hardly of any use.

124. The work has been printed very often in India. Ed. with the *Madhukośavyākhyā* of Vijayarakṣita and his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta and with *Ātanika-darpaṇaṭikā* of Vācaspati-vaidyā, by J. T. Acharya, *NSP*. Bombay 1932. Vijaya-rakṣita commented on i-xxxii ; Śrīkaṇṭhadatta on the rest. Eight commentaries on this work are listed by Aufrecht.

125. *IC*. III. 153-55 ; but see S. K. De, *ibid.* IV. 273-76.

126. The *Cikitsā* (R. L. Mitra, *Bikaner Catalogue*, No. 1413, pp. 647-48) of Mādhava is not, as suggested in *IC. loc. cit.*, a separate work, but is either identical with *Rug-viniścaya* or represents a version of it. The two opening verses quoted by Mitra are nothing but verses 3 and 4 of the *Rug-viniścaya*, while the only concluding verse cited, which is too corrupt for identification, deals apparently with *Viśa-roga-nidāna*, which forms the subject-matter of one of the concluding chapters of the *Rug-viniścaya*. All the available MSS. of the small work on Dietics, called *Kūṭa-mudgara*, are in Devanāgarī, and there is nothing to identify its author Mādhava with our Mādhava, who is probably also to be distinguished from the Mādhava or Mādhavas, who wrote *Āyurveda-rasa-śāstra* (*B.GS*-

and titles, but arguments based chiefly on the cognomen *-kara*, which, however, is not found attached to Mādhava's name in any of his known works, as well as on the extensive use of his works in Bengal, are hardly conclusive. It is, however, beyond doubt that Cakrapāṇidatta, the well-known commentator on Caraka and Suśruta, belonged to Bengal. In his compendium of therapy, entitled *Cikitsā-saṃgraha*,¹²⁷ he informs us that his father Nārāyaṇa was an officer (*Pātra*) and superintendent of the culinary department (*Rasavyadhyakārī*) of the king of Gauḍa, that he was a Kulīna of the Lodhravali family¹²⁸ and that his brother Bhānu was an Antaraṅga or a learned physician of good family.¹²⁹ The commentator Śivadāsa-sena Yaśodhara, a Bengal writer, who belonged to the 16th century,¹³⁰ explains that the king of Gauḍa

Cat. iv. 218), *Rasa-kauṇḍī* (Mitra, *Notices*, IV. p. 178, No. 1616), *Bhāva-svabhāva* (Bühler, *op. cit.* p. 230; see Aufrecht, *Catalogus* Cat. II. p. 93; III. p. 89), and *Mugdha-bodha* (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, V. p. 943, No. 2680/807). The only other work which can possibly be assigned to our Mādhava, son of Indukara, is the *Paryāya-ratna-mālā*, noticed by R. L. Mitra, *Notices*, IX. 234, No. 3150; but here, again, there is a great deal of uncertainty with regard to the work itself. In Mitra's description (*Notices* I. 111, No. 207) of another MS. of the same work, the name of the author is given as Rājvallabha. The India Office MS. (Eggeling, *op. cit.*, V. 976, No. 2740/1511c) omits the name of the author, and ends differently. On Mādhava see A. F. R. Hoernle, *Medicine of Ancient India* (Oxford 1907), p. 13f; J. Jolly, *Medicin, GIPA*. Strassburg 1901), pp. 6-7, where his relation to Vṛnda, author of the *Siddha-yoga*, is also briefly discussed. The suggestion that Vṛnda is the true name of the author of the *Rug-viniścaya* (Hoernle in *JRAS.* 1906, p. 288f; 1908, p. 998) is groundless and unproved. The *Siddha-yoga* is sometimes called *Vṛnda-mādhava* probably because Vṛnda makes a very large use of Mādhava's work in writing his own. The real names of the work and the author as given in most MSS. are respectively *Siddha-yoga* and Vṛnda (See Eggeling, *op. cit.* p. 937; Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.*, p. 315b; Peterson, *Fourth Report*, p. 399; Kiel.-*Cat.* p. 222, etc.).

127. Ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, Calcutta 1888; but it is printed very often.

128. Explained by Śivadāsa as the Lodhravali branch of the Datta family. Tradition locates his birth-place in the district of Birbhum. Haraprasād Śāstri in his *School History of India* (Calcutta 1896) gives 1060 A. D. as the definite date of Cakrapāṇi, which has been repeated by most writers (Jolly, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and in *ZDMG.* LIII, 378; Hoernle, *op. cit.* pp. 12, 16); but we have no proof for this exact date.

129. *Vidyā-kula-saṃpanno bhiṣag antaraṅgaḥ* (Śivadāsa). On this word see *IC.* I. 684-86.

130. The commentary is entitled *Tattva-candrikā* and is professedly based upon a previous *Ratna-probha* commentary. From the genealogy and personal details given in the concluding verses, we learn that Śivadāsa was the son of Ananta and grandson of Uddharāṇa, and that he belonged to Mālāṅcīkā in Gauḍa (Pabna district). His father Ananta is said (*IC.* III. 157) to have been a court-physician of Barbak Shah in the 16th century.

was Nayapāla. If this is so, Cakrapāṇidatta should be placed in the middle of the 11th century. Besides older authorities the work professes to draw upon the *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛnda,¹³¹ which in its turn follows the order of diseases and treatment of Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. Besides being an authoritative work on the subject, it possesses importance in the history of Indian medicine for marking an advance in the direction of metallic preparations¹³² which had been introduced from the time of Vāgbhaṭa and Vṛnda. Cakrapāṇidatta also wrote a commentary on Caraka, entitled *Āyurvedadīpikā* or *Caraka-tātparyā-dīpikā*,¹³³ in the introduction to which he mentions Naradatta as his preceptor. His commentary on Suśruta is entitled *Bhānumatī*.¹³⁴ Two other useful works of his are *Śabda-candrikā*¹³⁵ a vocabulary of vegetable as well as mineral substances and compounds, and *Dravya-guṇa-saṃgraha*,¹³⁶ a work on dietics.

It would be convenient in this connection to notice two other medical writers of some importance who flourished in Bengal at a somewhat later date. The first is Sureśvara or Surapāla, who wrote a glossary of medical botany, entitled *Śabda-pradīpa*,¹³⁷ in which he gives an account of himself. His grandfather and father were respectively Devagaṇa, who was a court-physician to king Govindacandra, and Bhadreśvara who served in a similar capacity to king Rāmapāla (called Vaṅgeśvara). He himself was physician to king Bhīmapāla, and should from these accounts be placed in the first half of the 12th century. He also wrote a *Vṛikṣāyurveda*¹³⁸ on a similar subject, and a *Loha-paddhati* or *Loha-sarvasva*¹³⁹ on the medical use and preparation of iron. The other writer is Vaṅgasena, who was very

131. Ed. *An. SS.* No. 27, 1894, with the *Vyākhyā-kusumāñjali* commentary of Śrīkaṇṭhadatta. On the sources of Cakrapāṇidatta see Jolly in *ZDMG.* LIII. 377f.

132. P. C. Ray, *Hist. of Hindu Chemistry*, I, introd. p. liv.

133. Ed. Srinath Visarad (*Sūtra-sthāna* and *Vimāna-sthāna*), Calcutta 1892. Also ed. V. K. Datar, *NSP.* Bombay 1922; ed. N. N. Sastri, 2 vols., Lahore 1929.—See Mitra, *Notices*, VI. 223, No. 2160 (incomplete MS.).

134. Ed. in parts by Gangaprasad Sen, Vijayaratna Sen and Nishikanta Sen, Calcutta 1888-93. See *Auf.-Cat.* I. 175a.

135. MSS. in Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.*, No. 453, pp. 195-96; Eggeling, *op. cit.* v. 974, No. 2738/987b. Also see Mitra, *Notices*, II. 25, No. 562.

136. Ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, 2nd ed., Calcutta 1897 with the commentary of Śivādāsa. See Mitra, *Notices*, IX, 43-44, Nos. 2931-32. The author quoted as Vaidya Gadādhara in *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* and presumed to be a medical writer is identified (*IC.* III. 157f.) with Gadādhara, a commentator on Suśruta; but the proofs are slender for the conjectural identification.

137. MS. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* v. 974-77, No. 2739/1351c.

138. MS. in Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.* No. 768, pp. 324-25, where an analysis of contents is given.

139. MS. in *V.-Cat.* I. p. 65.

probably an inhabitant of Bengal.¹⁴⁰ He wrote *Cikitsāsāra-saṃgraha*,¹⁴¹ in which he is described as the son of Gadādhara of Kāñjika. The lower limit of his date, viz., the 12th century, is supplied by Hemādri's profuse quotations from this work in *Āyurveda-rasāyana* commentary on Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*.¹⁴² Vaṅgasena relies upon Suśruta but borrows freely from Mādhava's *Rug-viniścaya*. It is not certain if the later medical commentators, Aruṇadatta,¹⁴³ Vijaya-rakṣita,¹⁴⁴ Niścalakara,¹⁴⁵ and Śrīkaṇṭhadatta¹⁴⁶ really belonged to Bengal.¹⁴⁷ We have no proof for such a conjecture; in any case, they are not independent writers of importance, and also fall chronologically outside our period.

Like the speculative Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, the practical Dharmaśāstra literature achieved a distinction of its own in mediaeval Bengal, but of the early history of the latter, like that of the former, we know very little. That the study of Mīmāṃsā, allied to Dharma-śāstra, was not neglected is apparent from epigraphic records, as well as from the references, however disparaging, of Udayana and Gaṅgeśa, already mentioned above.¹⁴⁸ We also know that the two important Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Bhavadeva and Aniruddha, were well versed in the teachings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). Halāyudha in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* informs us that although Bengal¹⁴⁹ paid little attention to the Vedas, she studied Mīmāṃsā; and he himself, as we shall see, wrote a *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva* which is now lost. But the subject is actually represented in this period by only one work, namely, the *Tautātita-ma'a-tilaka*, to be dealt with presently, of Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, which exists only in fragments. The

140. IC. III. 159.

141. Ed. Nandakishor Gosvami, Calcutta 1889. For Mss., see Auf.-Cat. and especially Eggeling, *op. cit.* v. pp. 951-52. The work is also called *Vaidya-vallabha*. The *Cikitsā-mahārṇava* mentioned by R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report* 1885-1887) is probably the same work. The *Ākhyāta-vyākaraṇa* mentioned by R. L. Mitra (*Descriptive Cat. of Skt. Mss. in ASB*, Pt. I, Grammar, No. 29, Calcutta 1877) may or may not be by the same author.

142. P. K. Gode in IC. III. 535 f. The Cambridge MS., as Eggeling notes, was copied in the Nepali era 396=1276 A. D.

143. Wrote *Sarvaṅga-sundarī* on Vāgbhaṭa. His date is variously given as c. 1220 (Hoernle), 13th century (Cordier), 15th century (Jolly).

144. Wrote, with his pupil Śrīkaṇṭhadatta, the *Madhu-kośa* on Mādhava's *Nidāna*. Hoernle dates him at c. 1240 and Jolly at the 14th or 15th century.

145. Wrote *Prabhā* on Cakrapāṇi's *Dravya-guṇa*. Date not known.

146. Also wrote *Kusumāñjali* on Vṛnda's *Siddha-yoga*.

147. As claimed without much justification in IC. III. 157-58.

148. See above p. 313, f.n. 4. The mislection *nigūḍhācārya* for *uvaṭācārya* in Halāyudha's *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (vv. 20-21) led H. P. Śāstrī (*JBORS.* 1919, p. 173) to the supposition that there was an early author on Vedic ritualism named *Nigūḍhācārya*; but the reference is undoubtedly to Uvaṭācārya, the well-known author of the *Vājasaneyi Mantra-bhāṣya* (*IHQ.* 1930, p. 783).

149. But the reference may be only to certain sections of the Brahmins of Bengal (v. *infra* Ch. XV).

study of the Vedic ritual is similarly evidenced by a single extant work composed by a little known scholiast, Nārāyaṇa son of Goṇa¹⁵⁰ and grandson of Umāpati. It is a commentary, entitled *Prakāśa*, on Keśava Miśra's *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa*,¹⁵¹ which is a compendium of Sāmavedic Gṛhya ritual, as described by Gobhila. The author's ancestors belonged to Uttara Rāḍhā. His grandfather Umāpati is described as flourishing under Jayapāla, while Nārāyaṇa is said to have been a contemporary of Devapāla. But the work itself is of little merit.

Of the two earliest Bengal writers on Dharma-śāstra, Jitendriya and Bālaka whose works are now lost, our information is scanty, being derived from citations in later authors. They are quoted and criticised by the Bengal authors, Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi, and are therefore conjectured to have flourished in Bengal before the 12th century A.D. In his *Kāla-viveka*,¹⁵² Jīmūtavāhana mentions Jitendriya among writers who dealt with the subject of auspicious time (*kāla*) appropriate for ceremonies, and quotes in several passages his very words¹⁵³. Jitendriya's views on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta are also quoted in the *Dāya-bhāga* and the *Vyavahāra-mātrkā* of Jīmūtavāhana, as well as in the *Dayatattva* of Raghunandana. It would seem, therefore, that Jitendriya's lost work was fairly comprehensive in its scope; and as only these Bengal writers, and no other, quote him, the supposition that he flourished in Bengal in the first half of the 11th century is not unlikely. The other forgotten author, Bālaka, is known entirely from references by Jīmūtavāhana, Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi¹⁵⁴, who discuss his views mostly on Vyavahāra and Prāyaścitta, Jīmūtavāhana going even to the length of sometimes punningly ridiculing them as childish (*bāla-vacana*)¹⁵⁵. If the Vāloka mentioned six times¹⁵⁶ in his *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* by Bhavadēva Bhaṭṭa, also a Bengal writer, be the same as our Bālaka, then his date would be anterior to 1100 A.D. There is also another Dharma-śāstra writer named Yogloka¹⁵⁷ who is known similarly from the references made by Jīmūtavāhana and Raghunandana. He appears

150. The Bibl. Ind. ed. reads *tasyānujaḥ* (younger brother of Umāpati), with the v. l. *tasyātmajaḥ* which last is the reading also of the India office MSS.

151. Ed. Bibl. Ind. Pt. I. (only two fasc.); MS. in Egg. Cat. I. 92-93, No. 1028 (incomplete).

152. Ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 380. See *JASB.* 1915, p. 315.

153. For the passages see Kane, *Hist. of Dharma-śāstra*, I. pp. 281-83, where they are given in full.

154. These passages are quoted in Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 283-84, which also see on the question of Bālaka's identity with Bālarūpa, pp. 284-86.

155. *JASB.* 1915, p. 320.

156. *JASB.* 1912, p. 336. Vāloka may be a common mislection of the Bengal scribe for Bālaka. The printed text (pp. 42, 44, 74, 81, 83, 106) apparently found the correct form Bālaka, but it does not utilise the MSS. of the text mentioned below (p. 322, f.n. 2).

157. See Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 286-87.

to have treated the subject of Vyavahāra and composed a long (*Bṛhat*) and a short (*Laghu*) treatise on Kāla. He is quoted mostly for the purpose of being refuted, but since Jīmūtavāhana refers to old (*purātana*) manuscripts of Yogloka's work, he might have been even an older author than Jitendriya and Bālaka.

If not a great writer, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa was versatile and was certainly one of the most interesting personalities of his time. A great deal about him is known from an inscription¹⁵⁸ which eulogises Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva as a politician, scholar and author, and as a constructor of reservoirs and builder of temples and images, the identity of the author Bhavadeva with the person eulogised being established by the unique epithet, *Bālavalabhī-bhujaṅga*, applied to both¹⁵⁹. This *Prāśasti* of Bhavadeva and his family, composed by Bhavadeva's friend Vācaspati-kavi,¹⁶⁰ consists of thirty-three elegantly written verses. Bhavadeva belonged to the Sāvārṇa-gotra (of the Kauthuma school of the Sāmaveda) and came from the Siddhalagrāma in Rāḍhā¹⁶¹. His ancestors were all learned men, and one of them received the Śāsana of Hastinībhīṭṭa from an unnamed king of Gauḍa. His grandfather Ādideva was likewise a minister of peace and war to some king of Vaṅga. His father was Govardhana; and his mother Sāṅgokā was the daughter of a Vandyaghaṭīya Brahman. Bhavadeva himself served for a long time under king Harivarman and probably also under his son, whose name is not given. Bhavadeva is described as prominent among the exponents of the Brahmādvaita system of philosophy, conversant with the writings of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), an antagonist of the Buddhists and heretic dialecticians, well versed in Artha-śāstra, Āyurveda, Astraveda etc., proficient in Siddhānta, Tantra and Gaṇita, and called the second Varāha because of his special keenness for Astrology and Astronomy, having himself composed

158. *EI.* VI. 203-07; N. G. Majumdar, *IB.* 25-41. On Bhavadeva see M. Chakravarti in *JASB.* 1912, pp. 332-48, which account has been corrected and supplemented by N. G. Majumdar *loc. cit.* and Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 301-06; cf. *HB* p. 202.

159. The epithet has been the subject of much speculation (besides the work cited above see R. D. Banerji, *PB.* 99, and *BI.* 288, and references cited therein); but *Bālavalabhī* is obviously a place-name, which occurs as such in the commentary on Sandhyākara Nandin's *Rāmacarita*, the exact situation of which, however, is unknown. A place called *Vṛddhavalabhī*, situated in the Gauḍa country, is mentioned in the colophon to a MS. of *Sarva-deva-pratiṣṭhā-paddhati* of Trivikramasūri (*Sastri-Cat.* III. 529), which makes the meaning of *Bāla* in *Bāla-valabhī* intelligible. The word *Bhujaṅga* means here a lover or a Nāgaraka, and not a serpent, as M. Chakravarti and N. G. Majumdar are inclined to interpret (*JASB.* 1912, pp. 341-42). Cf. *HB* p. 157, f.n. 1.

160. R. L. Mitra's conjecture that this is the well-known philosophical writer, Vācaspati Miśra, is unfounded. Six verses are ascribed to one Vācaspati in the Bengal anthology, *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, but as one of these verses (ii. 33. 2) is quoted anonymously in *Daśa-rūpaka* (on ii. 29), he is probably a different person.

161. The Sāvārṇa-gotra, as well as Siddhala in Uttara-Rāḍhā, is mentioned in the *Belāva CP.* of Bhojavarman (N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 21).

a work on the *Horā-śāstra*. He is said to have also composed a work on the *Dharma-śāstra*, which superseded the already existing texts, and, following Bhaṭṭa (*bhaṭṭokta-nītyā*), to have written a guide *Mīmāṃsā* in one thousand *nyāyas*.

Although exaggeration is usual in such eulogistic enumeration, we have the means of verifying at least a part of this remarkable catalogue of accomplishments. No work of Bhavadeva on the *Horā-śāstra* or *Phala-saṃhitā*¹⁶² has yet been discovered, but a fragment of his work on *Mīmāṃsā* is available. This is entitled *Tautātita-mata-tilaka*¹⁶³ and is known from a fragmentary manuscript in the India Office Library. It discusses the *Tantra-vārttika* of Tautātita or Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the fragment covering only *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtra* ii. 1. Bhavadeva's works on *Dharmaśāstra*, however, are better known. These are, so far known, three in number, and respectively embrace the three important branches of *Ācāra*, *Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaścitta*. The work on *Vyavahāra* or judicial procedure, called *Vyavahāra-tilaka*, is now lost ; but it is known from citations in the *Vyavahāra-tattva* of Raghunandana,¹⁶⁴

162. Only one astrological work, viz., *Sārāvalī* of Kalyāṇavarman (ed. V. Subrahmanya Sastri, *NSP*. 3rd ed. 1928), is claimed for Bengal. The work or the author is quoted by Alberuni, Bhaṭṭa Utpala (966 A.D.) and Mallinātha (on the *Śiṣupālavadha*). An opening verse in the India Office MS. of the work (i. 5 in the printed text) describes the author as *Vyāghrataṭiśvara* (v. l. in other MSS. *Vyāghrapadiśvara*, *Vyāghrabhaṭeśvara*) and connects him with Devagrāma. S. C. Banerji (*PHC*. III. 1939, p. 577) identifies *Vyāghrataṭi* with the place of the same name well-known from three inscriptional records and thinks that it is Bāgdi in Nadia district, Bengal, while Devagrāma is taken to be a village of that name in the same district. A line of Varman chiefs ruled over *Vyāghrataṭi* during the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla, and Kalyāṇavarman might have belonged to this dynasty and ruled about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The work itself contains no other indications of its Bengal origin, except a passing reference to Samataṭa.

163. *Egg-Cat*. IV, No. 2166/1591, p. 690. Another MS., probably of the same work, is noticed in *TCM*. 1919-22, p. 5527. The work is mentioned by Hall in his *Index to the Bibliography of Indian Philosophical System*, p. 170. Hemādri in his *Caturvarga*⁰ (ed. Bibl. Ind., p. 120) disapproves of Bhavadeva's explanation of some views of Kumārila. The *Sūtras* actually dealt with in the India Office MS. are ii. 1. 1, 5, 9, 10, 13, 24, 30-35, 38, 40, 46-49.

164. Ed. Jivānanda Vidyāsāgar, II. 207 ; also p. 208. A Ms. entitled *Dattaka-tilaka* exists in the Varendra Research Society's collection (see the Society's edition of Bhavadeva's *Prāyaścitta-nirūpaṇa*, introd. p. 2). The first *Maṅgala-śloka* of this work is identical with the opening *Maṅgala-śloka* of his *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhāna*, while the second verse refers to the *Vyavahāra-tilaka* ; but it is apparently a later fabrication passed off in Bhavadeva's name inasmuch as it quotes such later writers as Caṇḍeśvara Thakkura (14th century).

the *Viramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra¹⁶⁵ and *Daṇḍa-viveka* of Vardhamāna.¹⁶⁶ The other Dharma-śāstra work is the *Prāyaścittaprakaraṇa*.¹⁶⁷ which deals in six chapters with the modes of expiation for various sins and offences. The first chapter (Vadha-pariccheda) concerns itself with the murder of men and women and slaughter of animals ; the second (Bhakṣyābhakṣya-p⁰) treats of forbidden food and drink ; the third (Steya-p⁰) discusses various kinds of theft ; the fourth (Agamyāgamana-p⁰) is occupied with sexual union with forbidden persons ; the fifth (Saṃsarga-p⁰) is devoted to such topics as taking of improper gifts from outcasts, contracting of forbidden marriages, sale of forbidden food and contact of untouchable persons ; while the sixth chapter (Kṛcchra-p⁰) concludes with the discussion of expiatory rites and penances. It gives a fairly full treatment of the subject and cites more than sixty authorities.¹⁶⁸ The reputation which the work enjoyed is indicated by the respect with which it is cited by such Smṛti-writers as Vedācārya.¹⁶⁹ Govindānanda and Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.¹⁷⁰ On the Sāmavedic rites and ceremonies relating to the Saṃskāras, Bhavadeva wrote *Chāndoga-karmanuṣṭhāna-paddhati*,¹⁷¹ also variously called *Daśa-karma-paddhati*, *Daśa-karma-dīpikā* or *Saṃskāra-paddhati*. Its contents are devoted to Kuṣaṇḍikā, Udīcya- karman, Vivāha, Garbhādhāna, Pūṃsavana, Sīmantonayana, Śoṣyanī-homa, Jātakarman, Niṣkramaṇa, Pauṣṭika, Anna-prāśana, Putra-mūrdhābhīghraṇa, Cūḍā-karaṇa, Upanayana, Samāvartana and Śālā-karman. From literary sources¹⁷² Bhavadeva's date would be earlier than the first quarter of the 12th and even the last quarter of the 11th century; and this is supported by the palaeography and internal evidence of the Bhuvaneśvar inscription¹⁷³ concerning Bhavadeva.¹⁷⁴

165. Ed. CS. p. 85.

166. Mitra, *Notices*, I. p. 226, No. 1910. The work (ed. Kamalkrishna Smṛititirtha, GOS., Baroda 1931) belongs to the latter half of the 15th century.

167. Also called *Ṇirūpaṇa*. Ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1927. MSS. in Eggeling, iv, p. 554, No. 1725/561 ; Mitra, *Notices*, IX. 214-15, No. 3138, where an abstract of contents is given. Also MSS. in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, Nos. 183-84. The colophon calls the author Bālavalabhī-bhujāṅga and Sāndhivigraha.

168. For a list see *JASB*. 1912, p. 336 ; also index of works and authors to the printed edition.

169. For reference see Kane, *op. cit.* p. 303.

170. In his *Prāyaścitta-saṃgraha* (Eggeling, *op. cit.* pp. 473, 555).

171. So named in the second introductory verse. MS. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* p. 94, No. 452/5a (cf. No. 394) ; in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No. 52 ; Bhandarkar Institute MSS. No. 9 of 1895-98 and No. 263 of 1887-91. There is also a MS. in the Dacca University Library ; see *HB* Ch. xv. The epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujāṅga occurs in the colophon.

172. On this question see M. Chakravarti in *JASB*. 1912, pp. 342-45 ; Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 305-06.

173. N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.* p. 32. Cf. *HB* pp. 200. ff.

174. Our Bhavadeva should be distinguished from several other later Bhavadevas

To this period probably belongs Jīmūtavāhana who is indeed the first of the three leading authorities of the Bengal school of Dharma-śāstra, the other two being Raghunandana and Śūlapāṇi who came later. Extremely divergent opinions, however, have been held on the question of his date, and he has been variously assigned to periods ranging from the 11th to the 16th century.¹⁷⁵ It is clear, however, that he could not have been earlier than the last quarter of the 11th century because he refers to Śaka year 1014 and mentions Bhoja and Govindarāja; and since he is himself quoted by Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Raghunandana, he could not have been later than the middle of the 15th century. Relying on astronomical as well as literary evidence, Monmohan Chakravarti would place him tentatively in the beginning of the 12th century, while P. V. Kane would approximate the date still further to a period between 1090 and 1130 A.D. Of Jīmūtavāhana's personal history not much is known. In the colophons of his works he is described as Pāribhadriya Mahāmahopādhyāya, while at the conclusion of his *Vyavahāra-mātrkā* and *Dāya-bhāga*, he informs us that he was born of the Pāribhadra family (*kula*). It is said that this name belongs to a section of Rādhīya Brahmans, still called Pārihāl or Pāri-gāin.¹⁷⁶ An astronomical reference in his *Kāla-viveka* (p. 290) appears to support the inference that Jīmūtavāhana belonged to Rādhā.

Of Jīmūtavāhana's three works,¹⁷⁷ all of which have been printed, the most well-known and important is his *Dāya-bhāga*, which is the basis and paramount authority on the Hindu law of inheritance, partition and Strī-dhana in Bengal, except in cases where the *Mitākṣarā*, from which it differs in some fundamental points,¹⁷⁸ is applicable. The work is

who also wrote on Dharma-śāstra, viz. Bhavadeva, author of *Dāna-dharma-prakriyā* (middle of the 17th century), Bhavadeva, author of *Smṛti-candrikā* (first half of the 18th century) and Bhavadeva, author of *Sambandha-viveka* (on Sapiṇḍa relationship). These works do not mention either the epithet Bālavalabhī-bhujāṅga or the official designation Sāndhivigrahika of Bhavadeva.

175. For an examination of the various dates, see Monmohan Chakravarti in *JASB.* 1915, pp. 321-27; Panchanan Ghosh in *26 Calcutta Law Journal*, pp. 17f (journal portion) and Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 325-27.

176. See M. Chakravarti in *JASB.* 1915, pp. 320-21. Śāstrī (*Cat.* III. XV) argues that since the Pārihals were reduced in status by Vallālasena, Jīmūtavāhana could not have paraded his being a Pāribhadriya unless he flourished before Vallālasena.

177. It appears that these three treatises were meant to form a part of an ambitious work on Dharma-śāstra called *Dharma-ratna*; hence the colophons read *iti dharma-ratne dāya-bhāgaḥ* (or *kāla-vivekaḥ* as the case may be). The ignoring of this fact has led to inaccuracies in the description of Jīmūtavāhana's works in some catalogues of manuscripts. Thus, the *Dharma-ratnas* mentioned in Mitra, *Notices*, v. 297-98, No. 1974 and in M.-*Cat.* VI. 2385-88, Nos. 3172-74 are respectively the *Kāla-viveka* and the *Dāya-bhāga*.

178. See Kane, *op. cit.* p. 323 for a summary of these distinctive doctrines. Jīmūtavāhana does not quote or mention the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara, but he

widely known through Colebrooke's English translation and has been often printed in Bengal.¹⁷⁹ Its popularity and importance are indicated by the large number of commentaries¹⁸⁰ which exist, including one by Raghunandana who has utilised it also in his own authoritative works. The work defines and discusses the general principles of Dāya or inheritance and proceeds to the exposition of father's power over ancestral property, partition of father's and grandfather's property and division among sons after father's death. It then deals with the definition, classification and devolution of woman's property (Strīdhana), after which it treats of persons excluded from partition and inheritance on grounds of disability, of property which is impartible, of the order of succession to sonless persons, of reunion, of partition of coparcenary property concealed but subsequently discovered, and of settlement of partition disputes by the court. It is a work of great learning and acuteness, and freely criticises a large number of authorities,¹⁸¹ ancient and modern, some of whom are not known otherwise.

His *Vyavahāra-mātrkā*,¹⁸² as its very name implies, deals with judicial procedure. Its importance is evidenced by references to it by Raghunandana and Vācaspati Miśra.¹⁸³ It divides the subject into four Pādas, with an introductory exposition (Vyavahāra-mukha) dealing with the eighteen titles of law, the function and qualification of the judge (Prāḍvivāka), the different grades of court and the duties of the Sabhyas. Of the four stages of Vyavahāra, the first (Bhāṣā-pāda) deals with the plaint (Pūrva-pakṣa) of the plaintiff (Arthin) and with surety (Pratibhū); the second (Uttara-pāda) treats of the four kinds of reply (Uttara) by the defendant (Pratyarthin); the third (Kriyā-pāda) is devoted to proof or burden of proof (Kriyā) and various kinds of evidence, human (Mānuṣī) and divine (Daivī), the author purposely omitting the divine which consists of trial by ordeal; and the fourth (Nirṇaya-pāda) concludes with the topic of the decision and order of the court. The work abounds in quotations,¹⁸⁴ calculated as about six hundred in number, and proves the learning and dialectic abilities of the author. Jīmūtavāhana's third work, *Kāla-viveka*,¹⁸⁵ declares in its second introductory verse its object of elucidating the

appears to know the doctrines of the school.

179. Reprinted, Calcutta 1910.

180. The work was edited by Bharat Chandra Śiromaṇi with seven commentaries, 2 vols., Calcutta 1863-66. In some editions, as for instance in that of Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgar, the work is divided into sections, but there is no such division in the MSS.

181. For a discussion of these citations, see M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.* pp. 319-20; Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 323f.

182. Ed. Asutosh Mookerjee in *Memoirs of ASB.* II, No. 5, Calcutta 1910-14. This name of the work is given in the first introductory verse, and is found in later citations; but colophons name it variously as *Nyāya-mātrkā* or *Nyāya-ratna-mālikā*.

183. For references, see M. Chakravarti and Kane in the works cited.

184. Discussed by M. Chakravarti and Kane, as above.

185. Ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1905.

topic of Kāla or appropriate time for particular ceremonies, which has not been properly understood and treated by previous writers, seven of whom are directly mentioned in one verse.¹⁸⁶ It deals accordingly with the question of appropriate season, month, day and hour for the performance of religious duties and ceremonies, the determination of intercalary months, the suitability of lunar and solar months, and the auspicious time for various festivals, including the Kojāgara and the Durgotsava. The work shows the same skill and learning of the author and abounds in quotations, references and criticisms of previous authors, while its reputation is indicated by its wide recognition by such later writers as Raghunandana, Śūlapāṇi, Vācaspati Miśra and Govindānanda.

By far the most extensive literature of this period, which has also an importance and interest of its own, concerns itself with the large number of Buddhist writers, whose works, however, are mostly lost in Sanskrit but are preserved in Tibetan translation in the *Bstan-hgyur*.¹⁸⁷ They flourished in Bengal under the Buddhist Pāla kings in the 10th and 11th centuries or perhaps a little earlier. The works belong to the different Yānas which developed out of the Mahāyāna, and are loosely called Buddhist Tantra (*Rgyud*), as opposed to the Buddhist Sūtra (*Mdo*),¹⁸⁸ inasmuch as they teach esoteric doctrines, rites and practices in a highly obscure, and perhaps symbolic, language. Bengal, (as is shown in *HB* Ch. xiii), had been pre-eminently a land of Buddhism even before the 7th century A.D.,¹⁸⁹ but neither Hiuen Tsang nor I-tsing makes any reference to Buddhist

186. p. 308. They are Jitendriya, Śāṅkhadhara, Andhūka, Saṃbhrama, Hari-vamśa, Dhavala and Yoglauka.

187. Our account is chiefly based on Cordier-Cat. (*Bstan-hgyur* I-LXX), Part 2 (*Rgyud* Section), Paris 1908. It is not known if the originals were all written in Sanskrit; some of them were obviously in the vernacular, and some are described obscurely as written in the Indian Language. The locality of the author and the place of translation are not always given. A good index (barring a few slips) of this volume of the Catalogue is given in *BGD*. Appendix.—We have also made use of the works of Tāranātha (1608 A.D.) and *Pag Sam Zon Jang* (1747 A.D.), cited below. Other authorities are cited below.—In matters of Tibetan sources we have received cordial assistance from Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, whose chapter on Religious History (*HB* Ch. XIII) forms a supplement in matters relating to Tāntric Buddhism.

188. See L. de la Vallée Poussin, Tāntrism (Buddhist) in *ERE*. XII 195-96.

189. The Tantra itself was probably of foreign origin (H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal Catalogue*, II. preface p. xviii; P. C. Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1931, pp. I f) and appears to have found a luxuriant soil in the northern, southern and eastern frontiers of India, the Madhyadeśa having been the seat of orthodox Brahmanical culture from a very early period.

Tāntrism which could not have developed so early.¹⁹⁰ Tāranātha tells us¹⁹¹ that during the reign of the Pāla kings there were many masters of magic, Mantra-Vajrācāryas, who being possessed of various Siddhis, performed miraculous feats; and his testimony of the prevalence of Buddhist Tāntric culture is borne out by the hundreds of works produced on this subject, not a small part of which presumably belongs to Bengal. It was during this time that the monasteries of Nālandā, Vikramaśīla, Jagaddala, Somapurī and Pāṇḍubhūmi were renowned seats of Buddhist learning, with which the composition or translation of many of these Tāntric works are associated. The second of the Vihāras named above, which is said to have been situated on the banks of the Ganges, most probably had its location, like that of Nālandā, in Magadha; but the other Vihāras, no less distinguished, were situated in Varendra and other parts of Bengal, although their exact situation is a matter for speculation.¹⁹²

Many of these Vajrayānist writers and thaumaturgic Siddhā-cāryas of mediaeval cults, whether directly Buddhist or indirectly of Buddhistic origin, belonged undoubtedly to the east and most probably to Bengal in these centuries. Some of them travelled beyond Bengal and were so transformed into deified or legendary figures that all trace of their place of origin and activity was obliterated. Although the descriptions are often insufficient or obscure, the Tibetan sources sometimes definitely mention the locality of some of these works and authors; and of them alone we can be reasonably certain that they belonged to Bengal. The question of chronology and provenance is further complicated by a curious conflict and confusion of traditions, both Indian and Tibetan. The chronology can in most cases be settled only roughly or relatively; ¹⁹³ and with regard to the problem of authorship

190. The high antiquity claimed for the Buddhist Tantra by Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his various writings can hardly be substantiated. No serious student of early Buddhism will agree that the Buddha gave instructions on Mudrā and Maṇḍala, and incorporated Tāntric practices into his system of religion. The Tāntric works are found in late Tibetan translations which assign some of them definitely to the Pāla period; this is confirmed by the two chroniclers of Tibetan tradition, Tāranātha and Sumpā; and no such work was translated into Chinese at an early period (see M. Winternitz in *IHQ.* 1933, pp. 8f, and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi in *IHQ.* 1930, pp. 576-77).

191. *Tār.* 201. Tāranātha's other work (Trans. A. Grünwedel) is cited below as *Edelsteinmine* (*Edelst.*).

192. See *HB* Ch. XIII.

193. A systematic chronology has been attempted by B. Bhattacharya in *JBORS.* 1928, pp. 341ff, in *Tattva-saṃgraha*, p. xv f, and in *Sādhana-mālā*, ii, xlii f; but the available evidence is slender, and there is no agreement of the traditions concerning spiritual succession of these teachers, or their relationship to one another. Rāhula Sāṅkrīyāyana (*JA.* ccxxv. 1934, pp. 209 ff.) gives an account of the origin of Vajrayāna and the succession of the eighty-four Siddhas, in which he traces their spiritual descent from Saraha (placed before 750 A.D. as a disciple of Haribhadra and contemporary of Dharmapāla), whose disciple was Sabar-pā, the master of Lui-pā; the other great Siddhas

or the identity of particular authors still greater uncertainty prevails. As most of these cults overlap in point of time as well as of doctrine and practice, there has been a tendency towards an appropriation, and sometimes a mutual assimilation, of teachers and their teaching¹⁹⁴ through a curious syncretism of beliefs characteristic of mediaeval popular faiths. Into these difficult problems our limited scope precludes us from entering in detail, but in the midst of such uncertainty and meagreness of decisive material it is necessary to present the question with a proper regard to the available data and avoid hasty conclusions and speculations on insufficient basis.

Apart from these handicaps, the available data are unfortunately too scanty for a full and systematic account of this literature. A glance at the catalogue of the *Rgyud in Bstan-hgyur* will show not only the variety but also the very large number of texts that were composed. But preserved in Tibetan, they have been, so far, little studied, while even the very few which are available in Sanskrit have not all been published. Our knowledge of Vajra-yāna, as of other later Yānas, with which these works are concerned, is extremely limited.¹⁹⁵ To realise and restore these works from Tibetan, therefore, had been found to

(Virūpa, Gorakṣa, Bhusuku, Jālaṃdhara, etc.) are all placed in the reign of Devapāla at the Vikramaśīla *vihāra* constructed by the king. Rāhula Śāṅkṛtyāyana would distinguish (*op. cit.* p. 211) Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna periods chronologically into 400-700 A.D. and 700-1200 A.D. respectively, and believes that Tāntric Buddhism originated in Southern India at about the 6th century A.D. and became wide-spread in Northern India through the influence of the eighty-four Siddhas. But in his list (*op. cit.* pp. 220-25) only Viṇā-pā belongs to Gauḍa, Kāṇha-pā to Somapurī and Vajra (Ghaṇṭa-pā) to Varendra, the remaining Siddhas being assigned to provinces outside Bengal (mostly Magadha, Orissa and Kāmarūpa). It is not known how far his Tibetan source (*Caturaśīti-siddha-pravṛtti* in *Bstan-hgyur*) embodies reliable tradition; at least, it does not agree in all details with our information from other sources and traditions.

194. This is true not only between the Mahā-yāna and Vajra-yāna (or Mantra-yāna) but also between Vajra-yāna and Sahaja-siddhi. As Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna grew out of Mahā-yāna, the line of demarcation between a Mahāyānist and a Vajrayānist work is not fixed; for the former often contains Tāntric ideas and practices of Vajra-yāna, while the latter includes topics essentially Mahāyānist. Thus, Śāntideva's *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, an undoubtedly Mahāyānist work, contains unreserved praise of the use of the *dhāraṇīs* (see ed. Bendall, p. 140) and traces of other Tāntric ideas (See Winternitz, *op. cit.* II. 380, 387f). The Tibetan canon, no doubt, distinguishes the Sūtra (*Mdo*) and the Tantra (*Rgyud*) and classifies texts under these heads; but the *Mdo* and *Rgyud* very often overlap. At the same time, it is generally certain that works properly Tāntric are hardly to be found outside *Rgyud*. We have, in our account here, proceeded on this assumption, especially with reference to the question of identity of the authors. On Sahaja-siddhi and Nātha cult, see below.

195. An account of the different Tantras (Buddhist) is scattered throughout in Tāranātha's two works. For modern exposition, see H. P. Śāstrī, introd. to his ed. of *Advaya-*

be neither an easy nor always a safe task. They were meant, again, for a limited sectarian purpose and possess little that is of general or literary interest. Apart from their technical or esoteric terminology, they are often written with an entire disregard for grammatical or elegant expression. They never pretend to be academic, but declare¹⁹⁶ that their object is to be intelligible without much grammatical or literary preparation. Most of these works consist either of Stotras of varying lengths to Tārā, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and other personages of later Buddhist pantheon, or of theurgic texts, called Sādhana and Vidhis, of esoteric devotion, doctrine and practice. Some of them are also texts of magical ritual or completely dedicated to magic, even to black magic. Nevertheless, with their characteristic deities, Stotras and Saṅgītis, their Mantra, Mudrā and Maṇḍala, and their Dhāraṇī, Yoga and Samādhi, they present a phase of Buddhist Tantra, closely allied to the Brahmanical, which possesses considerable interest and importance in the history of mediaeval religious cults. As such, they have not yet received as much recognition as they fully deserve in the history, at least, of the mediaeval culture of Bengal.

It is necessary to point out in this connexion that our extremely inadequate knowledge of the Buddhist Tantra should not give us freedom in elucidating its doctrines or pronouncing hasty judgments on its spirit and outlook. Rajendra Lāla Mitra¹⁹⁷ in the last century spoke of the Buddhist Tantra as reeking of "pestilent dogmas and practices"; and the opinion has ever since been repeated in various form.¹⁹⁸ It is not our intention to enter into the question here, but it must be

vajra-saṃgraha, GOS. xl, Baroda 1927; B. Bhattacharya, introd. to his editions of *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, GOS. xli, Baroda 1928 and of *Guhya-samāja*, GOS. liii, Baroda 1931, and also *Origin and Development of Vajra-yāna* in *IHQ*. 1927, pp. 733-46 and *Glimpses of Vajra-yāna* in *PTOC*. III. 133 f; M. Shahidullah, *Les Chants Mystique*, Paris 1928, pp. 10ff; for a more critical interpretation see Wint.-Lit. (Revised Eng. Trs.), II. 375-401; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Tāntrism (Buddhist)* in *ERE*. XII. 193f (where some of the terms Sādhana, Vajra etc. are discussed), also his other works cited therein; P. C. Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1930, pp. 577f and in his ed. of *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, Calcutta 1934, pp. 33-59.

196. An interesting passage, quoted in *Sastri-Cat.* I. No. 67 from the *Vimala-prabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakra-yāna*, tells us that Buddhist writers deliberately laid aside all rules and conventions of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and wrote only with a view to the sense; and this is certainly true in the case of most of these Tāntric writings in Sanskrit. The authors seem to take a pride in writing ungrammatical Sanskrit and ridicule those who are fastidious about grammatical accuracy.

197. *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta 1882, p. 261.

198. Haraprasād Śāstrī, for instance, declares (*Sastri-Cat.* I, preface) that the Tantra works discard asceticism and teach enjoyment of the senses; Benoytosh Bhattacharya (*Sādhana-mālā*. II. xxii, and also in other writings) uses stronger language and stigmatises them as specimens of "the worst immorality and sin"; while Moriz Winternitz (*IHQ*. 1933, pp. 3-4; more guardedly in *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*,

said that, whatever may have been the state of affairs in later times and in certain writers of the decadent schools, there is nothing to support the view that the Vajrayāna doctrines in their origin encouraged sexual rites and obscenities.¹⁹⁹ Magic, mysticism and theurgy were undoubtedly at their basis, but it should be recognised that all Tāntric works of the higher class, whether Buddhistic or Brahmanical, present their mystical doctrines in an equally mystical language, of which a literal understanding would be unwarranted and misleading. They speak of unknown methods and ideas of spiritual experience, and employ esoteric expressions to signify unknown spiritual realities. The symbolical language is sometimes called *saṃdhā-bhāṣā*, which being intentional (*ābhīprāyika*) is meant to convey something different from what is actually expressed.²⁰⁰ There is also an apparent sex-symbolism here, as in other mediaeval religious systems, which expresses fervent spiritual longings or strange theological fancies in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. This mode of thought and expression, no doubt, borders dangerously upon sense-devotion and sexual emotionalism, but it is only an aspect of that erotic mysticism which is often inseparable from mediaeval beliefs, and need not be taken as implying sexual licence.

A consideration of all this, however, belongs to the sphere of religious history and falls outside our province. On the other hand, some of these Buddhist writers were also regular logicians and philosophers, whose works deserve notice in the general literary history of Mahā-yāna Buddhism. As very few of these writings, however, are preserved independently in Sanskrit and possess little literary interest, it will not be necessary for us to enter into details. We shall give here a general

II. 398-99) is frankly puzzled at what appears to him to be an "unsavoury mixture of mysticism, occult pseudo-science, magic and erotics" couched in "strange and often filthy language." While conceding that Buddhist Tāntrism is more than a pagan system of rites and sorcery, even a discerning and well-informed critic like L. de la Vallée Poussin would attribute to it "disgusting practices, both obscene and criminal." Grünwedel's attitude that the Buddhist Tantra is all necromancy is similarly one-sided.

199. P. C. Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1930, pp. 577-80; G. Tucci in *JRAS*. 1935, p. 681. One requires scarcely to be reminded that Hiuen Tsang (Watters, II. 165) refers to the high tone and austere lives of the Nālandā monks, which account is confirmed also by I-tsing who spent ten years at Nālandā. Moreover, the older traditions of Tantra literature in general hardly permit us to attribute obscenities to its practices.

200. V. Bhattacharya in *IHQ*. 1928, p. 287 f; P. C. Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1930, pp. 389f for a whole chapter on *Samdhā-bhāṣā* in *Hevajra-tantra*; also M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 9-10; P. C. Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1931, pp. 9 f. Edgerton (*JAOS*. 1937, p. 185 f) is of opinion that the Buddhist word *Samdhā* or *Samdhi* implies "complete, comprehensive (and so) fundamental, essential meaning."

survey of the more important writers who in all probability belonged to Bengal and contributed materially in Sanskrit to the growth of the Buddhist literature both in its general and esoteric aspects.

We have already spoken of Candragomin the grammarian. The Tibetan tradition does not distinguish him definitely from the Tāntric Candragomin who is credited with thirty-six miscellaneous texts in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*. They include not only mystic Stotras in praise of Tārā, Mañjuśrī and other personalities of later Buddhist hagiology, but also works on Tāntric Abhicāra (such as *Abhicāra-karman*, *Camū-dhvaṃsopāya*, *Bhaya-trāṇopāya*, *Vighna-nirāsaka-pramathanopāya*) as well as a few magical tracts apparently of a medical character (such as *Jvara-rakṣā-vidhi*, *Kuṣṭha-cikīṣopāya*)! The logician Candragomin, whose *Nyāya-siddhyāloka* also exists in Tibetan, is probably a different person.

The next important personage is the Mahāyānist scholar Śīlabhadra, the friend and teacher of Hiuen Tsang, who mentions him²⁰¹ as one of the great monks who rendered good service to Buddhism by their lucid commentaries. Originally a Brahman, he belonged to the royal family of Samataṭa and became a pupil of Dharmapāla at Nālandā, of which he subsequently became the head. None of his works, except *Ārya-buddha-bhūmi-vyākhyāna* preserved in Tibetan,²⁰² has survived.

Of Śāntideva the problem of identity and provenance²⁰³ is more difficult. The Tāntric Śāntideva to whom three Vajra-yāna texts are assigned in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*²⁰⁴ is probably not identical with the well-known Mahāyānist Śāntideva who was the author of *Śikṣā-samuccaya*²⁰⁵ and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.²⁰⁶ This earlier Mahāyānist teacher Śāntideva, who probably belonged to the 7th century, came, according to Tāranātha,²⁰⁷ from the royal family of Saurāṣṭra, was for a time a minister of king Pañcamasimha

201. See Watters, II. 165, 169, also pp. 109, 227; Takakusu—*I-tsing*, pp. xlv, 181.

202. Cordier, *op. cit.* III 365.

203. Discussed briefly in *BGD*. 23-24 and *JBORS*. 1919, pp. 501-05.

204. Cordier, *op. cit.* II. 140, 230, 241. They are: *Śrī-guhyasamāja-mahāyoga-tantra-vali-vidhi Sahaja-gīti* and *Citta-caitanya-śāmanopāya*.

205. Ed. C. Bendall, Bibl. Buddhica, St. Petersburg 1902, and translated by Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse, London 1922. According to Bendall, the work was translated into Tibetan between 816 and 838 A.D., but was probably written as early as the middle of the 7th century.

206. Ed. I. P. Minayeff in *Zapiski*, iv (1889) and *JBTS*. 1894. Prajñākaramati's commentary (with the text), ed. Vallée Poussin, Bibl. Ind., 1901-14. The text is translated by Poussin (Paris 1907), and in an abridged form by L. D. Barnett, London 1909 (*Wisdom of the East*). A *Sūtra-samuccaya* is also ascribed to Śāntideva by Tāranātha; on this work see *Wint.-Lit.* II. 366, note, and references therein cited.

207. *Tār.* 162 f. Sumpā agrees with this account and states that Śāntideva was known in his boyhood as Śāntivarman, son of Kalyāṇavarman, and that he became a minister

and became a pupil of Jayadeva, the successor of Dharmapāla at Nālandā. The Tāntric Śāntideva on the other hand, belonged, according to the *Bstan-hgyur*,²⁰⁸ to Zahor, the identity of which place is obscure but which is sometimes located in Bengal.²⁰⁹ According to another tradition,²¹⁰ Śāntideva had another name Bhusuku (called also Rāutu), but tradition is uncertain as to which Śāntideva is meant. It arises probably from a confusion with Bhusuku who is known as a Buddhist Tāntric writer of Dohās in the vernacular,²¹¹ following the Baṅgālī sub-sect of the Sahaja-siddhi,²¹² and who could not be, if he is a disciple of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, earlier than the 11th century. He may or may not be identical with Śānti-pā or Śānti-pāda,²¹³ to whom also some vernacular Dohās are ascribed²¹⁴ and who is described as a disciple of both Kṛṣṇācārya and

of Pañcamasīṃha, king of Magadha. The fragment of a biography mentioned by H. P. Śāstrī (Sastri-Cat. I. 52, No. 9990/52; for a summary see *IA*. 1913, pp. 49-52, *BGD*. 9-11 and *JBORS*. 1919, pp. 501-05); the MS. (c. 14th century) is apparently the work of a late Tāntric writer and is of doubtful value; it mentions Mañjuvarman as Śāntideva's father.

208. Cordier, *loc. cit.*

209. This place Zahor is conjectured in turns to be Lahore and Jessore in South Bengal (Weddell and Sarat Chandra Das) and Sabhar in East Bengal (H. P. Śāstrī). The suggestion (*IHQ*. 1935, pp. 143-44) that Zahor is in Rāḍhā is hardly convincing. A. H. Francke (*Indian Tibet*, II. 65, 89-90) would with great probability identify it with Mandi in North-Western India (see Bagchi in *IHQ*. 1930, pp. 581-82).

210. *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, Pt. I, pp. cxlvii, 120. The tradition is given also in Śāstrī's fragmentary biography mentioned above. But *Tār*. 249 believes that Bhusuka (*sic*), whom he does not identify with Śāntideva, was a contemporary of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna and therefore a much later teacher.

211. The eight *dohās* assigned to Bhusuku in the *Caryācārya-vīṇīścāya* (*BGD*.) are Nos. 6, 21, 23, 27, 30, 41, 43, and 49. To him probably also belongs the Vajra-yāna work called *Caturābharaṇa* (Sastri-Cat. I. 82; MS. dated in 1295 A.D.) which deals with some of the occupation of Tāntric Buddhists and contains some vernacular *dohās*. —On the language of the *dohās* of the twenty-two authors included in *Caryācārya*⁰, see S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.* pp. 112-17; M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 33 f. Cf. *HB* Ch. xii.

212. *BGD*. introd., p. 12. This reference is said to indicate his Bengal origin. The *dohās* also appear to be written in proto-Bengali. According to Grünwedel (*Geschichten d. Mahāsiddhas*, p. 184) Bhusuku belonged to the Kṣatriya caste, flourished in Nālandā in the time of Devapāla, and was known by the name of Śāntideva. In Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana's list (*op. cit.* p. 222), Bhusuku occurs as a prince who flourished in the reign of Devapāla, (809-849 A.D.) at Nālandā.

213. Sumpā, *op. cit.* p. cxix. In Rāhula's list, Śānti-pā occurs separately as a Brahman of Magadha who flourished in Mahīpāla's time (c. 988-1038 A.D.).

214. The *dohās* in *Caryācārya*⁰ are : Nos. 15 and 26.

Jālaṃdhara. 215

Evidence is qually inconclusive with regard to the identity and place of origin of Śānti-(or Śānta-)rakṣita, who is placed by the Tibetan tradition in the 8th century. According to Sumpā, 216 he belonged to the royal family of Zahor, which, as we have noted, some scholars are inclined to locate, on dubious grounds, in Bengal; but the *Bstan-hgyur*, which gives three Tāntric works under the name Śāntirakṣita, 217 is silent about his place of origin. The Tibetan tradition, however, appears to centre round the Mahāyānist logician and scholar Śāntarakṣita; but he does not appear to be definitely distinguished from the Vajrayānist Tāntric author, Śāntirakṣita, who is connected with Padmasambhava of Uḍḍiyāna 218 as his brother-in-law and collaborator, but who may or may not be the same person. The logician Śāntarakṣita was a high priest and teacher at Nālandā and followed the Svatantra Mādhyamika school. From this standpoint he reviewed with great acuteness and scholarship the

215. To Śānti-pāda, who is also called Ratnākara-śānti, is ascribed *Sukha-duḥkha-dvaya-parityāga-dṛṣṭi* in *Bstan-hgyur* (Cordier, II. 234). A Sanskrit *Dvibhuja-heruka-sādhana* of his is published in *Sādhana-mālā*, II. 474-76. Tāranātha (*Edel-steinmine*, pp. 105-06) describes Ratnākara-śānti or Śānti as a Brāhman of Magadha who became an Ācārya of Vikramaśīla and preached for seven years in Siṃhala. See Grünwedel, *op. cit.* 156-58. To Ratnākara-śānti eighteen Tāntric works are ascribed in *Bstan-hgyur*. A *Chando-ratnākara* by Ratnākara-śānti is noticed in *JASB*. 1908, p. 595, as existing in the Tibetan version, (Sanskrit text, with the Tibetan version, ed. Georg Huth, Berlin 1890).

216. *Op. cit.* pp. xcix, 49. Sarat Chandra Das is here (see p. ci) uncertain about the location of Zahor, but in *JBTS*. I (1893), p. 1 f, he believes that Śāntirakṣita was a native of Gauḍa, which opinion has been repeated by Benoytosh Bhattacharya and others.

217. Viz., *Aṣṭa-tathāgata-stotra*, *Vajradhara-saṅgita-bhagavat-stotra-īkā* and *Hevajrodhbhava-kurukullyāyāḥ Pañca-mahopadeśa* at Cordier, pp. 11, 12, 93. He is also known as Ācārya Bodhisattva, to whom also four works, mostly on *Sapta-tathāgata*, are ascribed in Cordier, pp. 298, 368, 369.

218. Waddell, *Lamaism* (London 1895), p. 379f. The name of the place Uḍḍiyāna is also given in the forms Oḍḍiyāna, Oḍyāna, Oḍiyāna and sometimes as O-rgyan or U-rgyana; but it has not yet been definitely located. B. Bhattacharya, following H. P. Śāstrī, would identify it with Orissa and draw far-reaching conclusions about Buddhist Tāntric centres in Orissa. But this is only a conjecture: and Orissa is often mentioned as Oḍivisa in the Tibetan works. In *JBORS*. 1928, p. 34, however, B. Bhattacharya believes that the place was in Assam! There is great probability in the identification proposed by Sylvain Lévi (*JA*. 1915, p. 105 f; see F. W. Thomas in *JRAS*. 1906, p. 461 note) with the Swat valley in Northwestern India, the people of which, even in Hiuen Tsang's time (Watters, I. 225), made "the acquaintance of magical formulas their occupation." See the question discussed by P. C. Bagchi and N. Das Gupta in *IHQ*. VI. 580-83, XI. 142-44.

earlier philosophical systems, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist, in his *Tattva-saṃgraha*,²¹⁹ which exists both in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and on which his pupil Kamalaśīla²²⁰ wrote a commentary. He also wrote *Vāda-nyāya-vṛtti-viṇāṣitārtha*²²¹ and *Madhyamakālaṃkāra-kārikā* (the latter with his own commentary),²²² which are available only in the Tibetan version. His reputation must have travelled beyond the limits of India, and he is said to have visited Tibet at the invitation of king Khri-sron-lde-bstan and assisted him in building the first regular Buddhist monastery of Bsām-ye on the model of the Odantapurī Vihāra of Magadha.²²³ He is said to have worked for thirteen years in Tibet, and, along with Pādasambhava and his own disciple Kamalaśīla, laid the foundation of Buddhism in that country.

With regard to Jetāri, the next important writer, the Tibetan tradition²²⁴ appears to distinguish a senior and junior sage of that name. The senior or Mahā-Jetāri belonged to Varendra, where his father Garbhapāda lived at the court of king Sanātana.²²⁵ He is said to have received from Mahāpāla the diploma of the Paṇḍita of Vikramaśīla Vihāra, and instructed Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in the Buddhist lore. The younger Jetāri²²⁶ was a Buddhist Tāntric sage of Bengal, who initiated Bodhibhāgya and gave him the name Lāvaṇyavajra. It is possible that the three learned works on Buddhist logic, preserved in Tibetan,²²⁷ belonged to the senior Jetāri, while the junior Jetāri was responsible for eleven Vajrayānist Sādhanaś also preserved in Tibetan.²²⁸

219. Ed. GOS. No. xxx-xxxi, Baroda 1926, with Kamalaśīla's commentary. Cf. M. Winternitz in *Indologia Pragensia*, I. 1929, pp. 73 f. A Vajra-yāna work *Tattva-siddhi* is also mentioned by B. Bhattacharya, but this may be by the other Śāntarahṣita or Śāntirakṣita.

220. There is no definite evidence that Kamalaśīla belonged to Bengal; but he is described as a contemporary of Lui-pā.

221. See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *Indian Logic* (Calcutta 1921), pp. 323-27.

222. *Tār.* 204-5, 213. See *Wint.-Lit.* II. 375.

223. Sarat Chandra Das (*JBTS.* I. 1-31) gives an account of Śāntirakṣita's activities in Tibet. He is said to have visited Tibet in 743 A.D., erected the monastery of Bsām-ye in 749 and died in 762 A.D. This has been accepted by B. Bhattacharya (introd. to *Tattva-saṃgraha*, p. xivf) and Phanindranath Bose (*Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*, Madras 1923, p. 124)). Cf. *HB* Ch. XVII.

224. *Tār.* 230; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcvi, 116.

225. *Tār.* 230-33. Sumpā, however, believes that Jetāri was born of a Yoginī whom Sanātana kept for Tāntric practices!

226. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcvi, 112.

227. *Hetu-tattva-upadeśa*, *Dharma-dharmī-viniścaya* and *Bālāvatāra-tarka*. See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* pp. 337-38. There are also two other Sūtra works of Jetāri in *Bstan-hgyur*, viz., *Bodhi-pratideśana-vṛtti* and *Sugata-mahāvibhaṅga-kārikā* (see *Tār.* 327).

228. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 84, 101, 289, 299, 319, 357, 366, 367.

Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, the alleged pupil of Jetāri, appears to have been a very industrious and prolific writer, to whom the *Bstan-ḥgyur* assigns about one hundred and sixty-eight works,²²⁹ of which a large number consists of translations. They are mostly Vajrayānist works, known as *Sādhana*s²³⁰ (*Rgyud*), but *Sūtra* (*Mdo*) works, also listed in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* under his name, presumably deals with the general doctrines of the Mahāyāna. Haraprasād Śāstrī is probably right²³¹ in distinguishing two Dīpaṃkaras, but there might have been more Dīpaṃkaras than two.²³² Of these, Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, who is also designated by the Tibetan title of Atīṣa, certainly belonged, according to the Tibetan tradition,²³³ to Bengal. Sumpā informs us²³⁴ that Dīpaṃkara was a high priest both at Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī, and that he was known also by the honorific epithet of Jovo (= Prabhu). He visited Tibet, lived, travelled, and worked there for some time,²³⁵ and the large bulk of his original and translated writings testify to the assistance he rendered not only in propagating Tāntric Buddhism but also in rendering Indian works accessible in Tibetan.

Jñānaśrī-mitra, described²³⁶ as a central pillar of the Vikramaśīla *viḥāra* at the time of Canaka of Magadha, was born in Gauḍa. He first joined the Śrāvaka school, but afterwards became a Mahāyānist and came to Vikramaśīla about the time when Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna left for Tibet. He wrote a work on Buddhist logic, called *Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāvā-siddhi*, which exists in Tibetan, and must have attained considerable reputation to be men-

229. The *Rgyud* section, according to M. Shahidullah's calculation, contains 96, *Rgyud-ḥgrel* 36 and *Mdo-ḥgrel* 36. Śāstrī's index of Cordier's summary of *Rgyud-ḥgrel* i-lxx gives over 100 Tāntric works, of which about 40 are translations.

230. On the characteristics of the *Sādhana* and of Vajra-yāna literature in general see L. de la Vallée Poussin in *ERE. loc. cit.*; Wint.-Lit. II. 387-92. Most of the published *Sādhana*s, as in B. Bhattacharya, *Sādhana-mālā*, 2 vols., GOS. Nos. xxvi, xli (1925, 1928) and elsewhere, are very short, but some are fairly long; they are generally written in indifferent Sanskrit prose, with verse Mantras, some being entirely in verse. On Dhāraṇīs see Winternitz, *op. cit.* pp. 380 f. The Saṅgītis introduce the Buddha in an assembly of the faithful.

231. *BGD.* introd., p. 22.

232. Besides Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna, the *Bstan-ḥgyur* has preserved numerous works under the names Dīpaṃkara, Dīpaṃkara-candra, Dīpaṃkara-bhadra, and Dīpaṃkara-rākṣita, who were probably not all identical. Dīpaṃkara-bhadra is mentioned also by Tāranātha (*Geschichte*, pp. 257, 264; *Edelst.* p. 95) as belonging to Western India. To Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna Atīṣa is also ascribed a *Caryā-gīti* (Cordier, p. 46).

233. See Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 46, 88.

234. *Op. cit.* p. xlv, 118; also xxxvi, 95; *Tār.* 243. Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna appears also to have been connected with the Somapurī-viḥāra where he translated *Madhyamaka-ratna-pradīpa* of Bhāvaviveka (Cordier, *op. cit.* III. 299).

235. Cf. *HB* pp. 144-45; *HB* Ch. XVII.

236. *Tār.* 214f; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xcvi, 118, 120.

tioned by Mādhava in the 14th century in his *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*.²³⁷ He should be distinguished from Jñānaśrī, of whom ten Vajrayāna works exist in Tibetan.

Of the minor Buddhist writers, mostly Tāntric, who in all probability flourished in Bengal during these centuries, it is not necessary to give a detailed account here ; for their writings appear to be of the same character and possess no distinctive interest. Among these may be mentioned Abhayākaragupta, who has more than twenty Vajrayānist works preserved in Tibetan, but four²³⁸ of these are also available in Sanskrit. He is described²³⁹ as a Buddhist monk of “Baṅgala” born in a Kṣatriya family at Jhārikhaṇḍa in Orissa ; he flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla as Paṇḍita of Vajrāsana and Nālandā, becoming a high priest of Vikramaśīla, according to Sumpā Mkhan-po, at the time of Yakṣapāla’s dethronement by his minister Lavasena.²⁴⁰ Divākara-candra, described as belonging to Bengal in the *Bstan-hgyur*²⁴¹ which includes one Heruka-sādhana and two translations of his, was according to Sumpā Mkhan-po²⁴² a disciple of Maitrī-pā, and lived in the reign of Naya-pāla, but was driven away from Vikramaśīla by Dīpaṃkara.²⁴³ Kumāracandra, described²⁴⁴

237. S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 341.

238. These are : *Kāla-cakrāvātāra* (Sastri-Cat. I. 161 ; MS. dated 1125 A.D.), Paddhati commentary on *Buddha-kapāla-tantra* (*ibid.* pp. 163-64, MS. finished at Vikramaśīla in the 25th year of Rāmapāla’s reign ; Cordier, III. p. 212), *Vajrāvalināma-maṇḍalopāyika* (*ibid.* p. 153-61) and *Ucchushma-jambhala-sādhana* (Sastri, *Nepal Catalogue*, II. p. 205= No. 152, in the *Sādhana-samuccaya*).

239. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xccxviii, 63, 112, 120, 121 ; *Tār.* 250f, *Edelst.* p. 109f. Tāra-nātha believes that his father was a Kṣatriya, his mother a Brāhmaṇi. He was well-versed in Hindu Śāstras of the Tantras of the Tīrthikas before he was converted, but studied the Buddhist Tantras in Bengal later on. S. C. Das in *JASB.* 1882, pp. 16-18, gives a slightly different account of Abhayākaragupta from Tibetan sources. He states that Abhayākara-gupta was born in the middle of the 9th century in Eastern India near the city of Gauḍa, went to Magadha, became a priest to king Rāmapāla and, by his learning and other accomplishment came to preside over the Vikramaśīla *viḥāra*. He died before Rāmapāla abdicated in favour of his son Yakṣapāla, and was succeeded by Ratnākaraśānti at Vikramaśīla.—In the *Bstan-hgyur* Abhayākaragupta is described as an inhabitant of Magadha (Cordier, II. 71, 255). See *IC.* III. 369-72.

240. He appears to be different from Abhaya-panḍita, to whom about 108 Tāntric works are assigned in the *Bstan-hgyur*.

241. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 319 ; also pp. 83, 92 for the works.

242. *Op. cit.* pp. xlvii, 119, where the name is given as Devākara-candra. See *Tār.* 244.

243. A *Pāka-vidhi* by Paṇḍita-śrī-Divākara-candra is noticed in Sastri, *Nepal Cat.* II. 43-44 ; cf. P. C. Bagchi, *Dohākośa*, p. 8 (colophon), where the MS. is dated in 1101 A.D. He may be identical with Devākara-candra, also chiefly a translator (5 works in Tibetan), or Devākara (two translated works, Cordier, p. 181), both of whom are described as Indian Upādhyāyas (Cordier, pp. 176, 181, 217, 277), but he may be different from Divākara-vajra (4 works, Cordier, pp. 47, 48, 328, 329), who is described as a Mahābrāhmāṇa.

244. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 160 ; for the works see pp. 73, 169.

as “an avadhūta of the Vikramapurī Vihāra of Bengal in Eastern Magadha,” is responsible for three Tāntric Pañjikās (commentaries) preserved in Tibetan; Kumāravajra, also described as belonging to Bengal,²⁴⁵ was mostly a translator, who has only one independent work on the Heruka-sādhana. Dānaśīla, similarly described as belonging to Bhagala in Eastern India²⁴⁶ and to the Jagaddala vihāra in the east,²⁴⁷ is mentioned as a translator by Sumpā.²⁴⁸ He has about sixty Tāntric translations in Tibetan to his credit, but there is also a brief *Pustaka-pāthopāya*,²⁴⁹ translated by himself into Tibetan, on the mode of beginning the reading of a book. Putali (or Putuli, Puttali), mentioned²⁵⁰ as a Buddhist Tāntric sage of Bengal, wrote a Vajrayānist work on Bodhicitta;²⁵¹ but Nāgabodhi (or Nāgabuddhi?), who is said²⁵² to have been born “in Śībśera in Baṅgala” and who served the later Nāgārjuna as a disciple when he was working alchemy in Puṇḍravardhana, left thirteen Tāntric works now preserved in *Bstan-hgyur*. It is not clear if Taṅkadāsa (or Daṅgadāsa)²⁵³ was a native of Bengal, but he is described as a Viddha-Kāyastha and contemporary of Dharmapāla of Bengal; he wrote at the Paṇḍubhūmi vihāra a commentary, called *Suviśada-saṃpuṭa*, on the *Hevajra-tantra*. But Prajñavarman, who is credited with two commentaries and two translations of Tāntric texts, is distinctly assigned to Bengal.²⁵⁴ There are, however, some Buddhist Tāntric writers who worked in Vihāras situated in Eastern India, but there is no direct evidence that they were natives of Bengal. They are: Bodhibhadra of the Somapuri vihāra,²⁵⁵ Mokṣākaragupta, Vibhūticandra

245. *Ibid.* p. 33.

246. *Ibid.* p. 188, also p. 63. Has Bhagala any connexion, as Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana suggests, with modern Bhagalpur? Or, is it another form of Baṅgala or Bhaṅgala by which Tāranātha and Sumpā mean Bengal? Tāranātha believes (*Geschichte*. pp. 204, 226) that Dānaśīla was a Kashmirian, and lived in the time of Mahīpāla of Bengal.

247. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 33.

248. *Op. cit.* pp. xlv, 115.

249. See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* pp. 340-41; also *IHQ*. 1927, pp. 856-68 for a description of the work.

250. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lxxiii. 130. He is regarded as one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas; he was a Śūdra of “Bhaṅgala” (Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 216), with which Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s description (p. 225) agrees.

251. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 245 (*Bodhi-citta-vāyu-caraṇa-bhāvanopāya*).

252. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xii, 90; *Tār.* 86 f, 105. The Siddhācārya Nāgabodhi (Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 214), a Brāhmaṇa of Western India and disciple of Nāgārjuna, is probably the same person (Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s description agrees). For his works, see Cordier, pp. 137, 138, 142, 143, 167, 207, 209, 245.

253. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. v. 144; Tāranātha, *Edelst.* p. 100.

254. Cordier, *op. cit.* 3, 4, 298. He hailed from Kāpaṭya in Bengal (Cordier, III. 399).

255. *Ibid.* p. 98; two works. He may be the same as Bodhibhadra of Vikramaśīla vihāra mentioned by Tāranātha (*Geschichte* pp. 259 f).

of Jagaddala *vihāra*, and Subhākara²⁵⁰ also of the Jagaddala *vihāra*. Of these Mokṣākaragupta wrote a work on Logic dalled *Tarka-bhāṣā*,²⁵⁷ and may be identical with the commentator of the same name on the *Dohā-kośa* in Apabhraṃśa.²⁵⁸ Vibhūticandra has a total of twenty-three Tāntric works,²⁵⁹ of which seventeen are translations, including translations of two works of Lui-pā. Similarly, Vanaratna, who is mostly a translator, is vaguely described in the *Bstan-hgyur*²⁶⁰ as belonging to Eastern India, but Sumpā Mkhan-po²⁶¹ informs us that he visited Tibet from the monasteries of Koki land.²⁶² Of some writers, again, we can infer their place of origin only indirectly from their works. Thus Kambala or Kambalāmbara-pāda, to whom six works chiefly on Heruka-sādhana are credited in Tibetan, wrote also a collection of Dohās, called *Kambala-gītikā*,²⁶³ apparently in proto-Bengali; and one such Dohā (No. 8) occurs also in the *Caryācarya*.²⁶⁴ To this class belong several writers, but about some of them we have more definite information. These are Kukkuṛi-pāda, Śavari- (or Śavara-) pāda, Lui-pāda, Kṛṣṇa-pāda and others; but since these writers, to whom Vajrayānist works are credited in the *Bstan-hgyur*, are also counted among the eighty-four Siddhas and connected with popular Tāntric cults, especially the Mahāmāyā, the Yoginī-kaula and the Nātha cult, all of which possibly developed further out of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna,²⁶⁵ it would be better to take them up separately.

256. *Ibid.* p. 293. He should be distinguished from Śubhākaragupta of Magadha, pupil of Abhayākaragupta and high priest of Vikramaśīla, who flourished in the reign of Rāmapāla (Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. cxii, 120; *Tār.* 252, 261; S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 346).

257. S. C. Vidyabhusan, *op. cit.* p. 346.

258. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 219.

259. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 21, 23, 49, 50, 126, 142, 178, 302, 365. Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat.* II. 244, notices an *Amṛta-karṇikā* commentary of Vibhūticandra, in Sanskrit, on Nāma-saṅgīti according to Kālacakra-yāna. On Vibhūticandra see N. N. Dasgupta in *IC.* V. 215-17.

260. *Ibid.* pp. 17, 77.

261. *Op. cit.* p. lxix; *Tār.* 263.

262. For Buddhist Tantra in eastern Koki land, see *Tār.* 267.

263. *BGD.* introd., p. 27. On the legends of Kambala, who is counted as one of the Siddhas, see Grünwedel, in the work cited, pp. 175-76.

264. *BGD.* Tāranātha (*Gesch.* 188, 191 f, 275, 324; *Edelst.* 53 ff) connects Kambala with Uḍḍiyāna and associates him with Lalitavarjra and Indrabhūti in the exposition of *Hevajra*. Sumpā (pp. x. 90, 94), believes that Kambala was a contemporary of Āryadeva. Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana makes Kambala a disciple of Vajraghaṇṭa of Varendra (flourishing under Devapāla, c. 810-53 A.D.), but belonging to Orissa.

265. On the distinction, which however is not sharp, between Mantra-yāna and Vajra-yāna, see Wint.-Lit. II. 387-88. Also P. C. Bagchi in *HB.* Ch. xiii.

With these so-called Siddhācāryas we enter upon a somewhat new phase of Bengal Tāntrism, although most of these thaumaturgists present a medley of doctrines, which had probably not yet crystallised themselves into well defined or sharply distinguished cults. The Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna as offshoots of Mahā-yāna, were never at any stage separated by any clear line of demarcation. The same remarks would apply also to the various closely allied, perhaps concurrently existing, and presumably popular, cults,²⁶⁶ which became associated with the names of the Siddhācāryas and the Nātha-gurus, and which (whatever might have been their origin) show a clear admixture of Buddhist ideas²⁶⁷ and claim as their teachers recognised expounders of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna. We have in consequence a curious confusion, in the various traditions, between the early teachers of the different but closely related cults. We have, for instance, the tradition of more than one Śavara, Lui-pā, Saraha and Kṛṣṇa, just in the same way as we have tradition of more than one Śāntideva, Śāntirakṣita and Dīpaṃkara ; while Lui-pā has been equated with Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha, who is one of the acknowledged founder of both Yoginī-kaula and Nāthism. The difficulty is here perhaps greater than that of distinguishing between Mahā-yāna and Vajra-yāna writers, where they might have been confused by similarity of names, and where, since the one system developed out of the other, it was not inherently impossible for a Mahā-yānist to be a Vajrayānist. But in this case, as also sometimes in the other, it is not always possible to assume two or more sets of teachers having a common name or a common belief. To explain this confusion, therefore, one should presume a syncretic tendency, not unusual in the history of religious cults, to assimilate and identify the teachers of the different groups. This tendency must have been facilitated by the fact that these cults, collectively called Sahajasiddhi, in their origin were not probably sharply differentiated, having developed under the same conditions and possibly out of the same source or sources. In the case of Nāthism especially, which was perhaps more popular than academic, this tendency of assimilating the recognised teachers of Buddhist Tāntrism is not unintelligible. Whether the Nāthism in its origin was a form of Tāntric Buddhism which transformed itself into Tāntric Śaivism or whether the process was otherwise, need not be discussed here ; but it is clear that it assimilated rites and tenets

266. With our present available materials the exact relationship of these various cults cannot be determined, but there can be no doubt that, whether Buddhistic or Brahmanical, they were intimately related, and their teachers figure indiscriminately in more cults than one.—In addition to the authorities cited above, all the Tibetan legends about the Siddhācāryas will be found in *Die Geschichte der vierundachtzig Zauberer (Mahāsiddhas)*, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A. Grünwedel, in *Baessler-Archiv*, Band v (Leipzig and Berlin 1916), pp. 137-228 (hereafter cited as Grünwedel) ; in Tāranātha's *Edelsteinmine*, aus dem Tibetischen übersetzt von A. Grünwedel, Petrograd 1914 (Bibl. Buddhica xviii) ; and in Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in *JA.* ccxxv, 1934, pp. 218-228 (hereafter cited as Rāhula).

267. See *HB* Ch. XIII.

from various sources, its curious legends belonging to no regular order.²⁶⁸ In the same way it appropriated, or rather assimilated, its own Gurus to Vajrayānist teachers of repute, on the one hand, and to Śiva and his disciples, on the other.

One of the characteristics of Sahaja-siddhi is that it repudiates Mantra, Maṇḍala and other external means and modes of Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna, puts emphasis on Yogic practices and cultivation of mental powers, and, accepting their terminology, places different interpretations on such fundamental concepts as Vajra, Mudrā etc. The lands where this phase of Tāntrism was the most wide-spread, and perhaps where it originated, were Bengal and Assam. Most of the teachers, therefore, belong to these countries, from which their teachings must have spread in divergent forms to Nepal and Tibet; but the traditions concerning them became overlaid, obscure and confusing, and their works present a medley of Buddhism and Hinduism. The religious aspect of the question is not our concern here, but we shall give a brief survey of the important works and authors connected with these cults.

Kukkuri-pāda (or °pā), one of the eighty-four Siddhas, is mentioned by Tibetan tradition²⁶⁹ as a Brahman of Bengal who introduced Mantra-yāna (Heruka-sādhana) and other Tantras from the land of Dākinī. This somewhat obscure account probably refers to the introduction of the cult of Mahāmāyā, with which his name is traditionally associated,²⁷⁰ and which, judging from the titles of the works,²⁷¹ appears to form the theme of at least three out of his six Tāntric works in the *Bstan-hgyur*. He is also credited with two vernacular Dohās in the *Caryācarya*⁰ (Nos. 2, 20).²⁷² Another early Siddhācārya is Śavari-(or Śabara-)pāda, of whom it is recorded by Sumpā Mkhan-

268. See Gopal Haldar, *Gopīcānd Legend*, in *PTOC*. VI (1933), p. 277.

269. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. vi, 113, 135, 145; Tāranātha (*Edelsteinmine*, pp. 104f) adds that he taught the Tantras to Padmavajra, from whom they were handed down in succession to Tilli, Nāro and Śānti! The strange name Kukkuri-pā is explained by Sumpā by the legend that Kukkuri-pāda united in Yoga in the Lumbinī grove with a woman who was formerly a bitch. The same work (Sumpā Mkhan-po, pp. vi, 108, 145) speaks of a Kukuradāsa (=Kukurarāja?) also called Kukurācārya as a Buddhist Tāntric sage, adept in Yoga and a great preacher, who was a lover of dogs!

270. *Tār.* 275. According to Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 176, Kukhuri was a Brahman of the eastern land of Kapilāśakru; according to Rāhula, a Brahman of Kapilavastu and Guru of Mīna-pāda.

271. One of these, *Mahāmāyā-sāadhanopāyika*, is available in Sanskrit in *Sādhana-mālā*, II. 466-68 (No. 240).

272. He is probably identical, as Cordier suggests (p. 109), with Kukura-pā or Kukura-rāja of whom eight Tāntric texts on various deities (Vajrasattva, Vairocana, Heruka etc.) are given in the *Bstan-hgyur*. This perhaps confirms Sumpā Mkhan-po's statement that he introduced various kinds of Tantra. See *Tār.* 188-89.

po²⁷³ that he was a huntsman of the hills of “Baṅgala,” who with his two wives, Loki and Guni, was converted by Nāgārjuna during the latter’s residence in that country. The Tibetan sources,²⁷⁴ again, place him as a contemporary of Lui-pā, making him²⁷⁵ even a preceptor of Lui-pā in Tāntrism. Two vernacular Dohās of Śavari are also found in the *Caryācarya*⁰ (Nos. 28, 50). It is probable, therefore, that he was connected with the new cults, although ten Vajrayānist works are assigned to him in the *Bstan-hgyur*.²⁷⁶ He appears to the same as Śavarīśvara,²⁷⁷ some of whose works in the *Bstan-hgyur* are concerned with Vajra-yoginī Sādhana, which king Indrabhūti of Oḍyān and his sister Lakṣmīkara made popular.²⁷⁸

But the most important name of this group is perhaps that of Lui-pā. He is credited with four Vajrayānist works in the *Bstan-hgyur*, of which one called *Abhisamaya-vibhaṅga* is said to have been revealed by him directly to Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna in order that

273. *Op. cit.* pp. cxxi, 90. Elsewhere (pp. cxxi, 124) it is said that Śavari belonged to the hill tribe called Śavara. In Tāranātha the name is given as Śāvari. The legends of Śavari who is regarded as one of the 84 Mahāsiddhas are given in Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 149-50.

274. See P. C. Bagchi, introd. to *Kaula-jñāna*⁰, p. 27. Rāhula makes Śabara-pā disciple of Saraha and Guru of Lui-pā, his place of activity being given as Vikramaśīla.

275. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. 124, 135; Tāranātha, *Edelsteinmine*, pp. 20, 23. The relationship of the earlier Siddhas to one another in spiritual lineage is differently given in different traditional accounts. Their chronology, therefore, depending on their mutual relationship, is equally uncertain. On the question of the confusion of Śavari, Mahāśavara and Saraha, see below under Saraha.

276. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 57, 58, 128, 198, 235, 296, 326, 335. Some are available in Sanskrit also, *Sādhana-mālā*, II. 384-88 (Siddha-śavara), 456 (*ibid.*).

277. But he is probably different from Mahāśavara, by which name Saraha (Rāhulabhadra) is also known (Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 221, 248, also p. 39). See below.

278. Advayavajra, who belonged to Śavara-sampradāya (Cordier, p. 45) has about 22 works translated in the *Bstan-hgyur*, but some of his works are also available in Sanskrit. Twenty-two small Vajrayānist tracts of his are edited by H. P. Śāstrī in the *Advayavajra-saṃgraha*. Also in *Sādhana-mālā*, I. 47; II. 424, 490. His other name or title, Avadhūti-pā, probably indicates his connexion with the Avadhūti sect of Sahaja-siddhi, and this appears to be supported by his commentaries on the *Dohā-kośa* (ed. P. C. Bagchi, *JL.* xxviii). Excepting his connexion with the Śavara-sampradāya, there is no direct evidence that he belonged to Bengal. One Advayavajra, however, without the title Avadhūti, but called a Brāhmaṇa, appears to have come from Bengal (Cordier, p. 250).—Rāhula makes Avadhūti-pā a disciple of Śānti-pā.

(according to the colophon to the text)²⁷⁹ the latter might help its Tibetan translation. He was, therefore, in all probability an older contemporary of Dīpaṃkara and belonged to the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th century.²⁸⁰ Two of his vernacular Dohās are given in the *Caryācarya*⁰ (Nos. 1, 29);²⁸¹ but Haraprasād Śāstrī²⁸² speaks of an entire collection called *Luipāda-gītikā*. It is through these vernacular Dohās that he probably became one of the earliest founders of the Tāntric religion found in the *Dohā-kośas*. The Tibetan tradition mentions him as the Ādi-siddha, thus making him occupy the same position as the Indian tradition would ascribe to Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha. It has been pointed out that the Tibetan translation of the name Lui-pā means Matsyodara or Matsyāntrāda;²⁸³ and Sumpā Mkhan-po²⁸⁴ makes him, as the Indian tradition makes Matsyendranātha, a sage of the fisherman caste.²⁸⁵ The Tibetan sources, again, place Lui-pāda in Bengal²⁸⁶ while all the

279. M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* p. 19, would explain the colophon differently, while H. P. Śāstrī thinks that Dīpaṃkara helped Lui-pā in writing this work. But see P. C. Bagchi, *Kaula-jñāna*⁰, introd., p. 28.

280 M. Shahidullah (*op. cit.* p. 22), following Sylvain Lévi and Tāranātha, would place him much earlier in the 7th century. From Mārāṭhi sources Matsyendranātha's date would be the end of the 12th century (S. K. Chatterji, *op. cit.* p. 122; D. R. Bhandarkar in *IC. I.* 723-24). But see P. C. Bagchi, *loc. cit.* for a criticism of these views. The approximate dates assigned by B. A. Saletore to Ādinātha, Gorakṣanātha and others from South Indian tradition (*Poona Orientalist*, I. 16-22) do not conflict with our tentative chronology.

281. His *Tattva-svabhāva-dohākośa-gītikā-dṛṣṭi* (Cordier, p. 230) is the same as Dohā Nq. 29; see *IHQ.* 1927, pp. 676 ff.

282. *BGD.* introd., p. 21.

283. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 37; also P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.* pp. 22-23; *Tār.* 106 (Schiefner's note); Grünwedel *op. cit.* p. 143, f.n. 2.

284. *Op. cit.* pp. 124, 135.

285. But according to Rāhula, Lui-pā belonged to Magadha and was in his youth a scribe or Kāyastha to king Dharmapāla (769-809 A.D.); he was a disciple of Śabara-pā, who in his turn was a disciple of Saraha. That some of the teachers of these cults belonged to lower castes (probably an indication of their Buddhistic origin) is suggested by the names as well as the legends. Cf. the names Jālaṃdhara (fisherman), Tānti-pā (weaver), Hāḍi-pā (sweeper), Tili-pā or Teli-pā (oilman), etc. But the names need not always imply caste, for Jālaṃdhara and Tilo-pā are described as Brahmans Dombi-pā as a Kṣatriya.

286. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 33. But Sumpā makes him (p. cxli) an employee of the king of Uḍḍiyāna; Tāranātha (*Edelst.* 20) makes him a scribe of Samantaśubha, king of Uḍḍiyāna in the west; Rāhula describes him as a scribe of Dharmapāla and gives his place of activity as Magadha! See on this point P. C. Bagchi, *IHQ.* 1930, p. 583. H. P. Śāstrī (*JBORS.* 1919, p. 509) informs us that Lui-pā is even now

Indian legends of Matsyendranātha are connected with the seaboard of Eastern India. The published Sanskrit texts of the school claim Matsyendranātha as the founder of the Yoginī-kaula system, while Tāranātha believes (*Geschichte*, p. 275 f.) that Lui-pā introduced the Yoginī cult. On these among other, grounds, Lui-pā has been equated²⁸⁷ with Matsyendranātha, the legendary fisherman of Candradvīpa who is the starting point of a new system of Tāntric thought and practice, connected with the Yoginī-kaula, Haṭha-yoga and Nātha cults of East Bengal and Kāmarūpa. Even if the identification is not accepted, it will certainly strengthen the suggestion, made above, of the tendency towards syncretic assimilation of the teachers of the various cults.

The homage paid by the Kashmirian Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*²⁸⁸ would place Matsyendranātha earlier than the beginning of the 11th century; and if he is identical with Lui-pāda, his probable date would be the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. As the reputed founder of the new school of Sahaja-siddhi, he is connected with a series of teachers, whose writings are preserved mostly in the Apabhraṃśa and the vernacular, and who, as such, properly falls outside our province. But in its earlier stages the Sahaja-siddhi represented by these teachers starts apparently as a deviation from the Vajra-yāna and Mantra-yāna; while in these cults are to be found the sources of the Nātha cult, which calls itself Śivaite but which shows greater affinity with the Buddhist than with the Brahmanical Tantra. All the reputed Siddhācāryas are, therefore, found credited with Vajrayānist works in the *Bṣtan-hgyur*. The only exception is perhaps Matsyendranātha, if he is not the same person as Lui-pāda; but we have a work on the Bodhicitta by Mīna-pāda,²⁸⁹ who is described as an ancestor of Matsyendranātha. The cult must have been introduced early into Tibet and Nepal, where Matsyendranātha came to be identified with Avalokiteśvara, while in India his apotheosis occurred by his assimilation to Śiva.²⁹⁰ There are some works, however, which

worshipped in Rādhā and Mymensing. Wassiljev (note to *Tār.* 319) states that Lui-pā was born in Ujjayinī, while in Grünwedel, *loc. cit.* he is said to have lived under Indrapāla at Śāliputra (near Pāṭaliputra). In Tāranātha's opinion, Lui-pā was a contemporary of Asaṅga.

287. The equation was first suggested by Grünwedel *op. cit.* Cordier (p. 33) hesitates to accept the identification. See also Lévi-Nepal, I. 353, note 4. Tāranātha (*Edels.* pp. 120f) distinguishes Lui-pā from Mīna, but he also distinguishes between Mīna and Macchindra.

288. Ed. KS. I. 7 (vol. I, p. 25). In spite of conflict in the legendary accounts, the names Mīnanātha and Matsyendranātha belong probably to the same person.

289. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 237; the work is named *Bāhyāntara-bodhicitta-bandhopadeśa*.

290. For a résumé of the legends of Matsyendranātha see Chintaharan Chakra-

profess to have been revealed (*avatārita*) by Matsyendranātha. Five of these texts written in Sanskrit have been published²⁹¹ from old Nepali manuscripts; and if the manuscript of the principal longest text, entitled *Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya*, belongs to the 11th century (as its editor maintains), it must be taken as the earliest known work of the school. According to this work, Matsyendranātha belonged to the Siddha or Siddhāmṛta sect, primarily connected with the Yoginī-kaula, the chief seat of which was Kāmarūpa. Although the word Kula in Brahmanical Tantra is often synonymous with Śakti, it is undoubtedly related here to the five Kulas of the Buddhist Tantra, representing the five Dhyaṇi-Buddhas; while the word Sahaja is equated with Vajra as a state to be attained by a method of Yoga called Vajra-yoga. There is, thus, a very considerable admixture of Buddhist Tāntric ideas and practices with those of the Brahmanical Tantra.

The next great Siddha of the school is Gorakṣanātha who is described in most of the accounts as a disciple of Matsyendranātha. The legends, which must have originated in Bengal and spread in divergent forms to Nepal, Tibet, Hindustan, the Punjab, Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, connect him and other Nātha-gurus with the Gopīcānd legend,²⁹² with the Yogī sect of the Punjab, and the Nātha-yogīs of Bengal. Perhaps he did not, as some of the legends suggest, strictly conform to the traditions of the Mantra-yāna; and it is no wonder that in Nepal and Tibet he is considered to be a renegade,²⁹³ whose Yogīs passed from Buddhism to Śaivism simply to please their heretic rulers and gain political favours. Of Gorakṣanātha no work²⁹⁴ has been found, unless he is identical

varti in *IHQ*. 1930, pp. 178-81. The Yoginī-kaula cult must have been closely connected with Haṭha-yoga; for some of the Āsanās and Mudrās in Haṭha-yoga are expressly named after Matsyendranātha, and its tradition claims him as the first teacher of Haṭha-yoga after Ādinātha (i.e. Śiva). In the *Tantra-sāra* of Kṛṣṇānanda, Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha is connected with the worship of Tārā.

291. Ed. P. C. Bagchi, *CSS*. 3, 1934.

292. For an able treatment of the legends in its various forms, see Gopal Haldar in the work already cited. On Gorakṣanātha as a deified protector of cattle, see *JL*. xix.16f.

293. Lévi-Nepal. I. 355 ff; *Tār*. 255; *BGD*. 16. Gorakṣa has been identified (see note to *Tār*. 323) with Anaṅgavajra, but this may be an instance of the attempt to assimilate him to the well known Vajrayānist writer Anaṅgavajra, who was a disciple of Padmavajra and preceptor of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna. This Gorakṣa may be the Gorakṣa mentioned in *Bstan-hgyur*.

294. A Sanskrit *Jñāna-kārikā*, in three Paṭalas, said to have been revealed by Gorakṣanātha, is mentioned in Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat*. I. 79-90; this has been included by P. C. Bagchi in the work cited above, where the name of the teacher occurs as (p. 122) Mahā-macchīndra-pāda and not as Gorakṣanātha. A Sanskrit *Gorakṣa-saṃhitā* of late quasi-Hindu origin is supposed to embody his teachings. Also a *Gorakṣa-siddhānta* (ed. Gopinath Kaviraj, Part I, *SBS*). The vernacular productions of the Gorakṣa

with the Gorakṣa of the *Bstan-hgyur*, who is responsible for one Buddhist Tāntric work.²⁹⁵ If his alleged disciple²⁹⁶ Jālandhari-pāda, who figures in the legends as the Guru of Gopīcānd, is the same person as Mahāpaṇḍita Mahācārya Jālandhara, Ācārya Jālandhari, or Siddhācārya Jālandhari-pāda of the *Bstan-hgyur*,²⁹⁷ then he might be taken as the author of four Vajra-yāna works, including a commentary, called *Śuddhi-vajra-pradīpa*, on *Hevajra-sādhana*, the original being assigned to Saroru-havajra.²⁹⁸

To the other Siddhācāryas of the Sahaja-siddhi, some of whom are also Gurus of the Nātha cult, numerous Buddhist Tāntric works are assigned in the *Bstan-hgyur*. Both Indian and Tibetan²⁹⁹ traditions make Virūpa (or Viru-pā) a disciple of Jālandhara; but the latter tradition also appears to mention more than one Buddhist Tāntric sage of that name, of whom a junior and a senior Virūpa are distinguished.³⁰⁰ One of these Virūpas was born in the east at "Tripura"³⁰¹ (Tippera ?) during the reign of

school are of very late origin, and it would not be critical to assign any of them to the teacher.

295. Called *Vāyu-tattva-bhāvanopadeśa* (Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 237). To his alleged disciple Caurāṅgin also is ascribed a work of the same name.

296. Jālandhari (variant Jālandhara) is sometimes mentioned as a disciple of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, while some popular legends identify him with Hāḍi-pā of the Gopīcānd story. According to Grünwedel, (*op. cit.* p. 189), Jālandhari was a Brahman of Thaṭa land, while *Tār.* 195, makes him a contemporary and Guru of Kṛṣṇācārya, and connects him (*Edelst.* 62ff.) with the Gopīcānd legend of Bengal as Hāḍi-pā. According to the accounts of Tāranātha and Sumpā, his real name was Siddha Bālapāda, but he was called the sage of Jālandhara, a place between Nepal and Kashmir, where he lived for some time. The Nagara Thaṭa was in Sindhu, where Jālandhara was born in a family of Śūdra merchants. He visited Uḍḍiyāna, Nepal, Avantī and Cāṭigrāma in Bengal where Gopīcānd, son of Vimalacandra, was the king. See *JASB.* 1898, p. 22. In Rāhula's account Jālandhara is described as a Brahman whose disciples were Kaṇha-pā and Matsyendra ! His Guru is called Kūrma-pā.

297. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 39, 60, 78, 241.

298. *Ibid.* pp. 75, 78.

299. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lxxii, 109.

300. *Ibid.* pp. lxxii, 102, 104, 109, 112. *Tār.* 162 ff. makes the senior Virūpa a disciple of Jayadeva Paṇḍita (the successor of Dharmapāla) and a fellow-student of Śāntideva. He mentions (p. 205) the junior Virūpa as a Siddhācārya, Virūpa is connected with various forms of Vajra-yāna *sādhana* and mentioned as the preceptor of the Mahāsiddha Dombi-Heruka. Elsewhere (*Edelst.* 31) Tāranātha believes that Virūpa appeared thrice in this world ! According to Cordier (*op. cit.* p. 30), and Grünwedel (*op. cit.* 147-48), Dombi-Heruka was a Kṣatriya king of Magadha and exponent of Hevajra-siddhi (8 works in *Bstan-hgyur*). See *Edelst.* 34-35.

301. Sumpā, *loc. cit.* ; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

Devapāla. The distinction, however, is not clear in the *Bstan-hgyur*, but it ascribes ten Vajra-yāna works to Ācārya or Mahācārya Virūpa, and two collections of apparently vernacular Dohās and Padas (*Virūpa-pada-caturaṣīti* and *Dohā-kośa*) to Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara Virūpa.³⁰² Tilopā or Tailika-pāda,³⁰³ another Siddhācārya, is made by Tibetan sources a contemporary of Mahīpāla of Bengal; ³⁰⁴ and one of these traditions makes him a Brahman of Tsātigāon (Chittagong?), who was converted under the name of Prajñābhadrā.³⁰⁵ Besides four Vajra-yāna works, a *Dohā-kośa* of his is preserved in Tibetan.³⁰⁶ Tilo-pā's disciple Nāro-pā or Nāḍo-pā is also assimilated to well known Buddhist Vajra-yāna teachers. He is said³⁰⁷ to have succeeded Jetāri as the north-door Paṇḍit of Vikramaśīla as an adept in the Buddhist Āgama, and left the monastery in the charge of Dīpaṃkara in his seventieth year to become the high priest of Vajrāsana (Bodh-Gayā). One account makes him son of king Śākya Śubhaśāntivarman of the east (Prācyā), while another believes that he was the son of a Kashmirian Brahman, and became a Brahmanical Tīrthika Paṇḍita and then a Buddhist Siddha under the the religious name of Jñānasiddhi or Yaśobhadra. As he appears to be identical with Nāḍa, described in the *Bstan-hgyur* as Srī-Mahāmudrācārya, and with Nāḍa-pāda, described in the same work as Mahācārya and Mahāyogin, he should be credited with

302. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 223. H. P. Śāstrī (*BGD.* introd., p. 28) adds two others, viz., *Virūpa-gītikā* and *Virūpa-vajra-gītikā*. But are these Pada-collections or Saṅgītis? One Dohā of Virūpa occurs in the *Caryācarya*^o (No. 3). For his Vajra-yāna works, see Cordier, *op. cit.* II. 57, 125, 176, 177, 182, 223, 224, 230.

303. The name is given in various forms : Tilipā, Tillipā, Tillapa, Tilapa, Tillopa, Tailopa, Tellipā, Telopa, Teli-yogī. It is explained by Sumpā, fancifully, by the legend of his having joined in Yoga with a Yoginī who used to subsist in her early life by pounding sesame (*tila*)! Did he belong to the Teli caste?

304. *Tār.* 226; Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. xli. 128.

305. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 43, assigns a Sahaja work alternately to Tailakapāda *alias* Prajñābhadrā. It is possible that all these teachers had a popular name, as well as a Buddhist devotional name. There is another Siddhācārya Tailika-pāda (Cordier, p. 79) who hailed from Oḍyāna. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 170), Tilopa lived in Viṣṇunagara and attained Mahāmudrā-siddhi. In Rāhula's list, Telopā is described as a Brahman disciple of Padmavajra and master of Nāro-pā.

306. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 223. Ed. P. C. Bagchi (Sanskrit text in *Dohā-kośa*, *JL.* XXVIII. 41-52, also pp. 1-4). The Vajra-yāna works are mentioned in Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 43, 79, 223, 224, 239, 244.

307. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. lv, 18, 45, 115, 117 (called Narota-pā). On pp. lxvii, 118 the name of the place where Nāropā practised Tantra is given as Phullahari to the west of Magadha. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 168), Nāra was by caste a wine-seller, and lived in Sālaputra in East India. Tāranātha, however, believes that he was a Kashmirian Brahman and agrees with Sumpā's account in his *Edelst.* 74ff.; see also his *Geschichte*, pp. 239ff, 244 ff, 249, 328.

nine Vajra-yāna Sādhana³⁰⁸ some of which concern Heruka and Hevajra, as well as two Vajra-gītis³⁰⁹ and a Pañjikā on *Vajra-pada-sāra-saṃgraha*, which last work, it may be noted, was undertaken at the request of Vinayaśrī-mitra, a Bhikṣu of Kanaka-stūpa Mahāvihāra of Paṭṭikeraka in Kashmir.³¹⁰

Another important Siddhācārya is Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇa-pāda, known also by the Prakrit form of the name as Kāṇhu-pā. There must have been, as Haraprasād Śāstrī rightly conjectures, several Kṛṣṇas or Kāṇhus, the *Bstan-hgyur* mentions a senior Kṛṣṇa.³¹¹ a Kṛṣṇa from Orissa who was a translator,³¹² as well as a Kṛṣṇācārya and a Kṛṣṇa-vajra.³¹³ One Indian Kṛṣṇa, again, wrote at Somapurī *viḥāra*³¹⁴ which was situated in Bengal. It is difficult to say which of these authors³¹⁵ should be (if at all) identified with Kṛṣṇācārya or Kāṇhapā of the Sahaja-siddhi and the Nātha cult, who is regarded as a disciple of Jālandhara-pā. According to Tāranātha, however, Kṛṣṇācārya, disciple of Jālandhari, belonged to Pādyanagara or Vidyānagara in the southern country of Kārṇa;³¹⁶ but another

308. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 16, 68, 70, 87, 92, 97, 125, 130, 132, 238. G. Tucci (*JRAS.* 1935, p. 677) speaks of another work of Nāropā which he discovered in Nepal. It is a Sanskrit text, called *Sekoddeśa-ṭīkā* on initiation according to Kālacakra. In Grünwedel, (*op. cit.* p. 168), Nāro, Nāro-pā, Narota-pā, Nāḍa, Nāḍa-pāda appear to be the same person who was also known as Jñāna-siddhi or Yaśobhadra.

309. Cordier, pp. 220, 224. *BGD.* introd., p. 33 assigns to him a *Nāḍa-pañḍita-gītikā*.

310. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 68. This might refer to the Nāḍa-pāda of Kashmirian origin.

311. *Ibid.* p. 159, called Mahāmahopādhyāya; the junior Kṛṣṇa is mentioned at p. 82.

312. *Ibid.* p. 82. He may be the same Kaṇha as is mentioned by Sumpā (pp. v, 110) as a Buddhist Tāntric sage who was born in a Brahman family of Orissa (Oḍyāna?) and was initiated by Jālandhara; see also pp. lvii, 135, where the name is given as Kaṇha or Kaṇhāyā.

313. *Ibid.* p. 227, where he is called a Mahāyogin, and a *Dohā-kośa* is assigned to him. He may be the same as our author. Also pp. 94, 101. Altogether three works are mentioned under his name by Cordier.

314. *Ibid.* p. 166.

315. To them altogether sixty-nine Buddhist Tāntric works are ascribed in *Bstan-hgyur*. Some of these have been preserved also in Sanskrit in Nepal, e.g. *Vasanta-tilaka* (Cordier, p. 38; Kṛṣṇa)=the same in Śāstrī's *Nepal Cat.*, II. 199 (incomplete): *Karukulla-sādhana* (Cordier, p. 94; Kṛṣṇavajra)=the same in *Sādhana-samuccaya* (*Nepal Cat.* II. 201)=*Sādhana-mālā*, pp. 372-78; *Yoga-ratna-mālā Pañjikā* on Hevajra (Cordier, p. 67; Kṛṣṇa or Kāṇhupāda)=*Nepal Cat.* ii. 44; *Sastri-Cat.* I. 114.

316. *Edelst.* 69. M. Shahidullah takes it to be Orissa. Tāranātha (pp. 195, 197) distinguishes between a senior and a junior (*Tār.* 211, 234, 258, 275, 244)

Tibetan account informs us that his birthplace, as well as place of conversion, was Somapurī.³¹⁷ Eleven vernacular Dohās are given in the *Caryācārya*⁰ under the names Kāṇhu, Kṛṣṇā-cārya-pāda, Kṛṣṇa-pāda and Kṛṣṇa-vajra³¹⁸ as well as cited under one or other of these names in its Sanskrit commentary. A *Dohā-kośa* in Apabhramśa by Kṛṣṇācārya also exists in the original and has been published.³¹⁹

The problem of the identity of Saraha or Saraha-pāda, the next important teacher, whose other name is given as Rāhula-bhadra, is equally difficult. Sumpā Mkhān-po³²⁰ describes him as a 'Brahman Buddhist sage', born of a Brahman and a Dākinī in the city of Rajñī in the eastern country. He was well versed in both Brahmanical and Buddhist learning and flourished in the reign of Candana-pāla. He is said to have converted Ratnapāla and his ministers and Brahmans, and to have become the high priest of Nālandā. He learned the Mantra-yāna from Chove Sukalpa of Oḍiṣa (Orissa), but afterwards visited Mahārāṣṭra where he united in Yoga with a Yoginī who approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. After having performed the Mahāmudrā with her, he became a Siddha and went by the name of Saraha. It is also recorded that he used to sing Dohās of Buddhism as a means of conversion. In the *Bstan-hgyur* there are about twenty-five Tāntric works assigned to him,³²¹ including more than half a dozen concerned with Dohākośa-gīti and Caryā-

Kṛṣṇācārya. The junior, in his opinion, was responsible for Tantra works on Śambara, Hevajra and Jamāntaka; he belonged to the Brahman caste and was also a writer of Dohās.

317. Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 163. The Indian legend of Kāṇupā in connection with Gopīcānd is given by M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 26-27.

318. Kāṇhu. Nos. 7, 9, 40, 42, 45; Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda, Nos. 11, 36; Kṛṣṇapāda, Nos. 12, 13 (?), 19; Kṛṣṇavajra, No. 18. In No. 36, Jālandhari is mentioned, with respect as a master. In Rāhula's list, Kāṇha-pā appears as a disciple of Jālandhara, a Kāyastha living at Somapurī during Devapāla's reign c. 900-950 A.D.). S. K. Chatterji (*op. cit.* pp. 120-22) identifies Kṛṣṇācārya with Kāṇhu-pāda.

319. BGD. 123-32 (Kṛṣṇācārya-pāda); in M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.*, with the Tibetan version, pp. 72-122; in P. C. Bagchi, *Dohā-kośa*, cited above, pp. 121-136, also pp. 24-28. S. K. Chatterji *HB*, p. 386) would place the Dohā-writer Kṛṣṇācārya at the end of the 12th century, on the ground that the Cambridge University Library MS. of the *Hevajra-pañjikā* by Paṇḍitācārya Śrī-kṛṣṇa-pāda is dated in the 39th year of Govindapāla (=c. 1199 A.D.), presuming our author's identity with this Kṛṣṇa-pāda.

320. *Op. cit.* pp. xxvii, 84, 85; Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 150-51, as one of the 84 Siddhas.

321. One Vajrayānist Sanskrit text of Saraha-pāda's given in *Sādhana-mālā*, I. 79. Another in *Sādhana-samuccaya*, 176.

gīti.³²² An Apabhraṃśa *Dohā-kośa*³²³ (with a Sanskrit commentary³²⁴) connected with his name has been published ; and four of his Dohās occur in *Caryācārya*⁰ (Nos. 22, 32, 38, 39), where he is called Saraha-pāda. Cordier is probably right³²⁵ in his suggestion that there were several Sarahas, who are described in the *Bṣtan-hgyur* variously as Mahā-brāhmaṇa, Mahācārya, Mahāyogin or Yogīśvara, as belonging to Oḍḍiyāna³²⁶ and also as Mahāśavara and once as a descendant of Kṛṣṇa,³²⁷ but it is difficult to distinguish them. Tāranātha, however, distinguishes two Sarahas, one of whom, the junior, was otherwise called Śābari,³²⁸ while the other was named Rāhulabhadra.³²⁹ It is likely that the Siddhācārya Saraha, to whom the Dohās can be legitimately ascribed, was a different person from Saraha-Rāhulabhadra,³³⁰ the Vajrayānist author of the *Sādhana*s, and that both are to be distinguished from Saroruhavajra, also called Padmavajra, who is known in the history of Buddhist Tāntrism as one of the pioneers of Hevajra-tantra and as the Guru and Parama-guru respectively of Anaṅgavajra and Indrabhūti of Oḍḍiyāna.

Of those minor personalities of this group, who probably belonged to the east, only a brief mention may be made here. It is not clear if all of them belonged to Bengal. Garbhari-pā or Garbha-pāda, popularly called Gābhur Siddha,³³¹ wrote a work on Hevajra and a Vajra-yāna commentary ; Kila-pāda,³³² described as a descendant of Lui-pāda, is

322. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 212, 220, 221, 222, 231, 232, 247.

323. *BGD.* 77-132 (called Sarojavajra ; 32 Dohās) ; in M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 123-234 ; in P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.* pp. 52-120, also pp. 5-9, 28-32.

324. The commentator Advayavajra calls his author Sarojavajra, Saroruha and Saroruhavajra. This Advayavajra is probably a later writer, different from the Vajrayānist author of the same name, who is also called Avadhūti-pāda (see *HB.* p. 341, f.n. 4). He belonged to Śārideśa in Bengal (Cordier, *op. cit.* 232, 250)—Saroruha is distinguished from Saraha by Tāranātha in both his works. In Rāhula's list, Saraha occurs as the Ādi-Siddha, having three disciples Buddha-jñāna, Nāgārjuna and Śābara-pā, which Śābara-pā in his turn is mentioned as the Guru of Lui-pā. Saraha further figures as a Brahman of Nālandā, flourishing in the reign of Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A.D.).

325. *Op. cit.* p. 232.

326. *Ibid.* p. 375. Tāranātha (*Edelst.* 10) believes that Rāhulabhadra, with whom he identifies the younger Saraha, was born in Oḍḍiśa. He makes Lui-pā a disciple of this sage.

327. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 107, 212, 220, 221, 222, 247, 248. See M. Shahidullah, *op. cit.* pp. 29-30.

328. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 232. Cf. *Tār.* 66. The Siddhācārya Rāhula, according to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 189) was a Śūdra of Kamarūpa.

329. *Edelst.* 20 ; cf. *Tār.* 105.

330. *Tār.* 66, 73, 105. Rāhulabhadra is given as an *alias* of Saraha in Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 64 (*Vajrayoginī-sādhana*).

331. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 225 ; he is probably the same as Garvari-pāda, p. 78 ; one work each in Cordier. His place of activity is given as Bodhinagara by Rāhula.

332. *Ibid.* p. 234. Called also Kila-pā or Kirava. According to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* pp.

credited with a *Dohācaryā-gītikā-dṛṣṭi*; Amitābha³³³ commented upon the *Dohā-kośa* of Kṛṣṇavajra; Karmari, Karmāra or Kamari, a descendant of Virūpa, was the author of one Vajra-yāna work;³³⁴ Viṇāpāda, also a descendant of Virūpa, but described³³⁵ as a Kṣatriya prince of Gahura who was fond of the Viṇā,³³⁶ wrote works on Vajradākinī and Guhyasamāja, as well as one Dohā (No. 17) given in the *Caryācaryā*⁰; Kaṅkaṇa, a descendant of Kambala-pā, composed one Dohā to be found in the *Caryācaryā*⁰ (No. 44) and a *Caryā-dohākośa-gītikā*.³³⁷ Dārika or Dāri-pāda,³³⁸ also a Mahāsiddha, variously described as a disciple of Lui-pā and Nāropā, was responsible for twelve Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur*³³⁹ and one Dohā in the *Caryācaryā*⁰ (No. 34); and Dharmapāda (also called Guṇḍarīpāda),³⁴⁰ a descendant of Kṛṣṇa, has twelve Vajra-yāna works in the *Bstan-ḥgyur* and two Dohās in the *Caryācaryā*⁰. None of their works, except the Apabhraṃśa Dohās mentioned, is available in print, and exists only in Tibetan.

It will be seen that Bengal had a very large share in the cultivation and spread of this peculiar and prolific Buddhist and allied Tāntric literature, which in all probability received encouragement from the Buddhist kings of the Pāla dynasty. But it is remarkable that with the advent of the Sena kings, who had Vaiṣṇavite leanings, this literature and culture went underground for all time³⁴¹. We hear of no suppression or persecution of Buddhism under the overlordship of the Senas, but it was probably a part of their policy to encourage Brahmanical studies as a reaction against the Buddhistic tendencies of the Pāla kings. There cannot be any doubt that under the new regime of the Sena kings, non-Buddhistic Sanskrit literature

208 ff.), he belonged to the royal family of Grahara, with which description Rāhula appears to agree.

333. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 277.

334. *Ibid.* p. 241. Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 188, informs us that Karmāra was a blacksmith of Sāliputra in Magadha, and was also known as Kampari. In Rāhula's list Karmāra-pā also appears as a blacksmith of Sāliputra.

335. Cordier, *op. cit.* p. 238. In Rāhula's list Viṇā-pā is a disciple of Bhadra-pā and a prince of Gauḍa.

336. Sumpā, *op. cit.* pp. cxviii, 125.

337. *Op. cit.* p. 231. He is counted as one of the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas. On the legends of Kaṅkaṇa see Grünwedel, *op. cit.* pp. 174-75.

338. *Tār.* 127, 177, 249, 278; Grünwedel, *op. cit.* p. 215. He is said to belong to Sāliputra in the time of Indrapāla. See also *BGD.* 30.

339. Cordier, *op. cit.* pp. 17, 33, 34, 59, 212, 219, 237.

340. *Ibid.* p. 241. *BGD.* Introd., p. 250. He is probably different from Dharmadāsa mentioned by Sumpā (*op. cit.* pp. xxxiv, 99), who was born in many countries and erected a temple to Mañjughoṣa. In Rāhula's list Dharmapā and Guṇḍari-pā are distinguished. Dharmapā, according to Grünwedel (*op. cit.* p. 190), was a Brahman of Bodhinagara.

341. The labours of Haraprasād Śāstrī and others have made it clear that Buddhism did not entirely disappear but lived, and is still living, in a disguised form in Bengal. The theory of its being persecuted out of the land, therefore, is hardly maintainable.

rature and culture in Bengal received a fresh impetus. This might have partly been also a result of the general revival of Sanskrit learning, probably under similar circumstances, in Kashmir, Kanauj, Dhārā, Kalyāṇa, Mithilā and Kāliṅga. But the entire literary output of Bengal in this period covers practically the reigns of two kings only, Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena, and it confines itself chiefly to Brahmanical ritualism and poetry; the New Logic, Brahmanical Tantra and sectarian Vaiṣṇavism emerging about three centuries later with the consolidation of the Muhammadan rule. In the meantime the Bengali language and literature, which were concerned in this period possibly with lost songs, hymns, and ballads on the themes of Rādhākṛṣṇa, Gopīcānd, Lāusena, Lakṣīndhara, Śrīmanta and Kālaketu, were perhaps slowly characterising themselves, so that from the uncertain beginnings of the *Caryācarya*⁰, they were transformed in the 14th century into the definite articulation of the *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-kīrttana*. This story belongs to another chapter, and we shall see that, even in its beginnings, the vernacular literature did not fail to exercise some influence on the theme, temper, and expression of the contemporary Sanskrit literature.

One of the objects of the Brahmanical ritualistic writings, which was meant to regulate the daily life of the people and in which the authors of this period and their royal patrons took undoubted interest, might have been to counteract the social and religious disturbances with which Buddhism might have threatened the very basis of the Hindu society. During the reign of the Pāla kings, whose official religion might have been Buddhism but who do not appear to have been intolerant of other faiths, we hear of only one well-known person, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, who was an antagonist of Buddhism and heretic dialecticians and composed works on Brahmanical ritualism. In the Sena period such protective works were multiplied, but we hear of no avowed hostility towards non-orthodox systems. The attitude is intelligible when we consider the possibility of an accommodating spirit which, in course of time appropriated, reversed the process. Even in the Pāla period, we have seen, the Buddhist gods into the Hindu pantheon and which also sometimes Buddhist and Śivaite Tantras attempted to assimilate instead of being hostile to each other. As on the one hand, Matsyendranātha was equated with the Buddhist Lui-pāda and transformed into Avalokiteśvara, while the Buddha himself was honoured by Jayadeva with a place in the list of the Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa, we find, on the other hand, Mahākāla and Gaṇapati worshipped and awarded several *Sādhana*s³⁴² by Buddhist writers, and the Liṅga cult and Śivaite gods recommended in the Buddhistic *Samvarodaya* Tantra.³⁴³

The Dharma-śāstra works of this period are, therefore, written more from the practical than the academic point of view, and consist of ritualistic manuals prescribing the various pious duties and ceremonies. The earliest of these appear to be the *Hārālāṭā* and the *Pitr-dayita* of Aniruddha, both of which have been

342. *Sādhana-mālā*, II. Nos. 300-06, and 307.

343. Wint.-Lit. II. 400.

considerably used as authoritative by Raghunandana. The first work³⁴⁴ deals with the observance of impurity (Aśauca) consequent upon birth and death, its duties and prohibitions, the period for which it is to be observed, the persons who are exempted from observing it and other relevant topics. The second work,³⁴⁵ intended for the Sāmavedic followers of Gobhila, is concerned chiefly with rites and observances connected with Śrāddha or funeral ceremony; but it includes a treatment of general duties like Mouth-washing (Ācamana), Teeth-cleansing (Danta-dhāvana), Ablution (Snāna), daily prayers (Sandhyā), Offering to Pitṛs and Viśve-devāḥ (Tarpaṇa and Vaiśvadeva), the periodical Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, as well as an eulogy of gifts. Both the works are in prose and contain a large number of passages quoted from old and new writers. The closing verse of the *Hāralatā* tells us that Aniruddha was a resident of Vihārapāṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and that he was versed in the doctrines of Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila). The colophons to the two works supply the further information that he was Dharmādhyakṣa or Dharmādhikaraṇika (Judge), as well as a great teacher (Mahāmahopādhyāya) of Campāhaṭṭi, from which place³⁴⁶ a section of Varendra Brahmans derive their designation. Besides the Purāṇas and older Dharma-śāstra authors, Aniruddha quotes more recent authorities, among whom he mentions Bhojadeva and Govindarāja in his *Hāralatā*. This would fix the upper limit of his date at 1100 A.D.; and the lower limit is supplied by the citations of Raghunandana (mentioning both the works and the author) and Govindānanda (calling the author Gauḍa) at about the beginning of the 16th century. Since the *Hāralatā* is named as an authority in the *Śuddhi-viveka* of Rudradhara, the lower limit may be pushed back to the second quarter of the 15th century; while three quotations from the *Hāralatā* having now been identified³⁴⁷ in a manuscript of the *Śuddhi-ratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara preserved at the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, it is claimed that the lower limit should come up to the middle of the 14th century. All this makes it likely that

344. Ed. Kamalkrishna Smrititirtha, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1900. The work is sometimes also called *Śuddhi-viveka* (Mitra, *Notices*, II. No. 949, p. 338, also No. 1001, p. 372), but this is only a portion of the work, also noticed in Sastri-*Cat.* III. 337, No. 2266.

345. Ed. SPS. No. 6, Calcutta (no date). It may or may not be the same work as the *Karmopadeśinī Paddhati* (see Eggeling, *op. cit.* III. 474, No. 1553/481), for only a portion of this text is found in the printed edition. The colophon of this India Office MS. styles the author Dharmādhikaraṇika or Judge, while the colophon to the printed text of the *Hāralatā* describes him as Dharmādhyakṣa, which has apparently the same meaning. The colophons to both the works designate him as Campāhiṭi-(or Campāhaṭṭiya, Campāhaṭṭiya-) mahāmahopādhyāya.

346. That the place was in Varendra appears from its mention in the Manahali cp. of Madanapāla (*GL.*, 147 f, at p. 154).

347. By Bhavatosh Bhattacharya in *JBORS.* XXIII. 138-42.

he was identical with the Aniruddha who is extolled by Vallālasena in his *Dāna-sāgara* not only as a scholar far-famed in the Varendrī land for his piety and knowledge of the Veda and Smṛti, but also as his own Guru from whom he learnt the Purāṇa and Smṛti and at whose instance his own work itself was written. This would place Aniruddha's literary activity about the middle of the 12th century.³⁴⁸

Aniruddha's royal disciple, Vallālasena, appears to have composed four works, of which two are known to exist. His *Ācāra-sāgara* and *Pratiṣṭhā-sāgara*³⁴⁹ are mentioned as already composed in verses 56 and 55 respectively of his *Dāna-sāgara*; and the former work is also known from citations in the *Smṛti-ratnākara* of Vedācārya and in the *Madana-pārijāta*³⁵⁰ of Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa. But these two works of Vallālasena have not yet been recovered. His *Dāna-sāgara*, according to the author's own statement, was written under the instruction (*guroḥ śikṣayā*) of his Guru Aniruddha, but Raghunandana believes³⁵¹ that it was the work of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa himself. The work is, as its name implies, an extensive digest, in seventy sections,³⁵² of matters relating to gifts, the author himself informing us (v. 53) that he has dealt with 1375 kinds of gift. It deals with the merits, nature, objects, utility, times and places of gift, bad gifts and prohibited gifts, rites and procedure connected with the making and accepting of gifts, the sixteen kinds of great gifts (Mahādāna) and the large number of lesser gifts, together with an enumeration of the Purāṇas and their extent. It gives valuable information regarding the texts of many works

348. In *Proc. ASB.* 1869, p. 137, a *Cāturmāsyā-paddhati* by Aniruddha is noted, while Mitra (*Notices*, VIII. 175, No. 2700) mentions a *Bhagavat-tattava-mañjarī* on Vaiṣṇava theology. No personal details of the author are given, and it is doubtful if they are to be credited to our Aniruddha.

349. From the author's own remarks it appears that the topic of gifts made in different parts of the year is dealt with in the first work, while the second work treats of the dedication of reservoirs and temples.

350. See Kane, *op. cit.* p. 340.

351. *Ekādaśī-tattva*, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, Vol. ii, p. 44. That Vallālasena himself was a man of letters need not be doubted, for one of his verses is quoted in the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* of Śīdharadāsa.

352. MSS. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* III. 542, No. 1704-05/719-20 (Bengali MS); Mitra, *Notices*, I. 191, No. 278; H. P. Śāstrī, *Notices*, 3rd Series, i, p. 170 (extracts in all these). There is a post-colophon statement in the India Office Ms. which says that the work was completed in Śaka 1091 (=1169 A.D.). R. L. Mitra makes out the date to be Śaka 1019, which Aufrecht (*ZDMG.* XLI. 329) accepts, correcting the India Office MS. date; but see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report* 1887-91, pp. lxxxii-xci. The work is quoted five times by the Maithila Caṇḍeśvara in his *Kṛtya-ratnākara* (ed. Kamalkrishna Smṛititirtha, Bibl. Ind., p. 641; cf. *JASB.* 1915, p. 382), and several times by Raghunandana (*ibid.* p. 363).

as they existed in the author's time. His *Adbhuta-sāgara*, which has been printed³⁵³ is an equally extensive work on omens and portents, their effects, and means of averting them. It is divided into three parts according as the portents are celestial (appertaining to stars and plants), atmospheric (such as rainbow, thunder, lightning and storm) and terrestrial (such as earthquake). As in the case of the *Dāna-sāgara* it attempts to cover, with copious quotations drawn from a very large number of authors and works, the varied aspects of the subject and bears evidence to the industry and learning of the compiler. It was probably left unfinished by the author and completed by his son Lakṣmaṇasena.³⁵⁴ Although not a Brahman himself, Vallālasena received as much recognition of his work in Bengal and outside as any professional Brahman writer of this period.

Both Bengal and Mithilā claim Guṇaviṣṇu, son of Dāmuka and author of a work on Vedic ritual entitled *Chāndogya-mantra-bhāṣya*.³⁵⁵ The Bengal editor of his text makes out a good case for Bengal's claim; but the evidence adduced cannot be regarded as completely decisive. It is probable that he flourished some time before Halāyudha who makes considerable use of this work in his own similarly planned *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*,³⁵⁶ but Guṇaviṣṇu need not be much earlier. Guṇaviṣṇu's work is a commentary in eight parts on selected Vedic Mantras (about 400) used in the Sāmavedic Grhya rites. It consists of eight sections, dealing first of all with the sacrament of marriage and with all the rites connected with the child from its conception (Garbhādhāna) to the end of the period of Vedic study (Samāvartana), exactly in the same order

353. Ed. Muralidhar Jha, Prabhakari and Co., Benares 1905. The work is quoted twice by Raghunandana (*JASB.* 1915, p. 363).

354. We are told in the opening verses of the work itself that it was begun in Śaka 1089 (=1168 A.D.), but was left unfinished and completed after his death by his son Lakṣmaṇasena, whom he had raised to the throne and from whom he had extracted a promise to finish the work. The India Office MS. of the work (Eggeling, *op. cit.* v. 1197, No. 3104/712—Bengali MS.) is incomplete at the beginning and at the end, but the two Deccan College MSS. (Nos. 801 of 1884-87 and 231 of 1887-91) give the verse (see R. G. Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*), and so do the printed text and the two Dacca Univ. MSS. No. 1246 (Bengali MS. dated Śaka 1737), 2314 (Dvānāgarī, dated Samvat 1793). In the text of the *Adbhuta-sāgara* itself there is mention of Śaka 1082 and 1090 in the sections on the portents of the Saptarṣi and of the planets Ravi and Bṛhaspati respectively (see M. Chakravarti, *JASB.* 1912, pp. 343-44). Cf. *HB*, pp. 230 ff.

355. Ed. Durgamohan Bhattacharya, *SPS.* No. 19, Calcutta 1930. Also ed. Paramesvar Sarma in the Maithila Granthamālā, Darbhanga, Śaka 1828=1906 A.D. See description of its MS. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* I. 47, No. 280/2321a.

356. Halāyudha and Guṇaviṣṇu are mentioned together in the same verse in an anonymous Bengal commentary on the Rudrādhyāya (Yajurveda); noticed in *VSP.-Cat.*, introd., p. viii. Guṇaviṣṇu is quoted by Raghunandana. For other references see Durgamohan Bhattacharya's edition cited above. The learned editor places Guṇaviṣṇu in the reign of Vallālasena (introd. pp. xxiii, xxxv).

and with the same nomenclature as those of Bhavadeva's *Chāndoga-karmānuṣṭhāna-paddhati* mentioned above³⁵⁷ but it also includes, after Aniruddha's *Pitr-dayita*, a treatment of daily Prayers (*Sandhyā*), Ablution (*Snāna*), Vaiśvadeva, offering to the Pitr̥s (*Śrāddha*), as well as a commentary on the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and its application to human sacrifice. It is probable that the commentator found the *Mantras* already embodied and handed down by a traditional *Mantra-pāṭha*, which Aniruddha might have also used; for all the *Mantras* commented upon cannot be traced in the *Chāndogya-brāhmaṇa*, or *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* on which also Guṇaviṣṇu appears to have written a commentary³⁵⁸ but of which the arrangement is different. It is noteworthy that Sāyaṇa undoubtedly shows his acquaintance with Guṇaviṣṇu's *Mantra-bhāṣya*³⁵⁹ which must have, therefore, attained wide popularity by the 14th century.

The most important writer of this group is undoubtedly Halāyudha, but unfortunately all his works have not survived.³⁶⁰ The few facts known of him are given in the opening verses of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*. His father Dhanañjaya, of the *Vatsa-gotrā*, married Ujjvalā, and became a *Dharmādhyakṣa* or Judge. Halāyudha had two elder brothers, Isāna and Paśupati. The former wrote a *Paddhati* on the rites relating to the *Āhnika* or daily devotional observances of Brahmans (śl. 24); while the latter wrote also a *Paddhati* on *Śrāddha* and kindred topics (śl. 24; also Benares ed. p. 124), as well as another on *Pāka-yajña* (śl. 43). In his early years Halāyudha was appointed a *Rāja-paṇḍita*; in youth he was raised by king Lakṣmaṇasena to the position of *Mahāmātya*, and in mature years he was confirmed as a *Dharmādhikārin* or *Dharmādhyakṣa* (śl. 10, 12, 14).³⁶¹ The *Paddhati* of Isāna is lost, as well as those of Paśupati³⁶² but a *Daśa-karma-paddhati* on the *Gṛhya* ceremonies according to the *Kāṇva-śākhā* of the *Śukla-*

357. See *HB*. p. 322.

358. *BCL-Cat.* p. 112, No 9807a. Guṇaviṣṇu also appears (*Darbhaṅga* ed. p. 174) to have written a commentary on *Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra*.

359. Sāyaṇa does not mention Guṇaviṣṇu, but cites him as *kecit*. The citations closely correspond.

360. For an account of Halāyudha, see M. Chakravarti in *JASB*. 1915, pp. 327-336; Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 296-301.

361. In the colophons he is also called *Āvasthika*, *Mahādharmādhyakṣa*, *Mahādharmādhikṛta* and *Dharmāgārādhikārin*. See *IC*. I. 502-5 where Halāyudha is made out to be a *Vāreṇdra* Brahman and distinguished from Halāyudha of *Dakṣiṇa Rādhā*.

362. One Paśupati is cited several times by Raghunandana (*JASB*. 1915. pp. 367-68), but his works are not mentioned. In the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, a verse (ii. 10. 5) is attributed to Paśupatidhara, but there is no reason to hold that he is identical with our Paśupati. On verses quoted from Halāyudha in this anthology, see below.

Yajurveda is found ascribed to a Rāja-pañḍita Paśupati in some manuscripts of the work.³⁶³

Halāyudha informs us (śl. 19) that besides the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, he wrote *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*³⁶⁴ *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Pañḍita-sarvasva*.³⁶⁵ The last two works are quoted by Raghunandana³⁶⁶ but none of these works appears to have come

363. Mitra, *Notices*, II. 5, No. 528 (*Daśa-karma-paddhati*), the opening verse of which names the author as Paśupati and describes him as Bhūpati-pañḍita. This may or may not be the same work as Nos. 257 and 491 (beginning lost) of the Calcutta Sanskrit College (*Descriptive Cat.*, pp. 230-32, 441), called *Daśa-karma-paddhati*, in which the opening verse is missing, but the author's name is given in the colophon as Rāja-pañḍita Paśupati. But there is no ground, except that of similarity of names, for identifying the authors of these two works with our Paśupati. Mitra's MS. No. 742 in the same volume of the *Notices*, called *Vivāha-paddhati*, may be an abstract of his MS. No. 528 mentioned above; it is also ascribed to Paśupati. The anonymous Calcutta Sanskrit College MS. No. 244 (p. 220) may be a version of this latter work, while the incomplete MS. No. 304 (p. 280), entitled *Daśa-karma-dīpikā*, which has no colophon and gives no name of the author, deals only with Marriage and Caturthī-homa. A MS. of Paśupati's *Śrāddha-paddhati* is mentioned in *JASB.* 1906, p. 170, but of this nothing is known.

364. Mitra (*Notices*, IV. 102, No. 1507), as well as M. Chakravarti (*JASB.* 1915, pp. 337-38), describes a fragmentary *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, which is a commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* (going up to iii. 4); Mitra ascribes it to Halāyudha. But there is no colophon and no indication of authorship in the work. A *Mīmāṃsā-śāstra-sarvasva*, ascribed to Halāyudha, is edited by Umesh Misra in *JBORS.* XVII (1931), pp. 227, 413; XVIII (1932), p. 129. It is a running commentary on the *Adhikaraṇa-sūtras* up to the end of iii. 4. From an account of the work given by the editor (*JBORS.* xx. 26-32), it appears that the edition is based on a corrupt and modern Maithili MS. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal; but the editor expresses his "grave doubts" about Halāyudha's authorship, and in the MS. itself the name of the author is missing. In the editor's opinion, the work makes use of Pārthasārathi Miśra's *Śāstra-dīpikā*; it is thus a fairly late compilation. (Index to the work in the same journal, App. 1-17).

365. A MS. of a *Pañḍita-sarvasva* is noticed in *TCM.* 1919-22, p. 5162, No. 3458; also *M.-Cat.* IV. Pt. i (B), Madras 1928. The work deals miscellaneously with the usage of Varṇas and Āśramas, Tithi, Śuddhi, time for Śrāddha and other ceremonies, and so forth; but it gives no name of the author. From the extracts given in the Catalogue the question of authorship cannot be determined.

366. *JASB.* 1915, p. 329, 367, 372; see Raghunandana's *Tattvas*, ed. Jivananda Vidyasagar, I. 389, 531.

down to us. The *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, which has been printed,³⁶⁷ is a work of great repute in Bengal. Halāyudha informs us that he wrote this work because he found that the Brahmins of Rādhā and Varendra did not study the Veda and therefore did not know the Vedic rites properly. Its main object is to supply a guide, meant for the Śukla-Yajurvedic Brahmins of the Kāṇva-śākhā, to a knowledge of the meanings of the Vedic Mantras employed in the daily (*Āhnika*) rites and the periodical domestic (*Gṛhya*) ceremonies known as Saṃskāras. Accordingly it deals in forty sections with the various daily duties, such as the morning ablution, prayers, hospitality, the study of the Veda, and daily offerings to the Pitṛs, and then proceeds to the treatment of the periodical Ācāras including the ten sacraments of a Brahman's life. As every such rite involves recitation of the Vedic Mantras, their explanation (Mantra-bhāṣya) forms the chief feature of the work. He acknowledges handsomely his indebtedness to Uvaṭa and Guṇaviṣṇu, but he appears to have made considerable use also of the *Chāndoga-pariśiṣṭa* of Kātyāyana and the *Gṛhya-sūtra* of Pārasakara. Our Halāyudha should be distinguished from several Halāyudhas who also wrote on Dharmaśāstra,³⁶⁸ as well as from the lexicographer, grammarian and prosodist Halāyudha, who wrote the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā* and the *Kavi-rahasya*.³⁶⁹

367. Ed. Benares, Saṃvat 1935 ; also Tejaschandra Vidyananda, Calcutta B.E. 1331 (=1924 A.D.). We have used MSS. Nos. 791, 4236, K 554 of the Dacca University Library.—MSS. also in Eggeling, *op. cit.* III. 519-20 ; Deccan College collection (now in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) No. 9 of A 1883-84.

368. E.g., Halāyudha quoted in the *Kalpa-taru* of Lakṣmīdhara (Kane, *op. cit.* pp. 296, 301 ; *JASB.* 1915, p. 335) ; Halāyudha, son of Saṅkarṣaṇa, and author of *Prakāśa* commentary on Kātyāyana's *Śrāddha-kalpasūtra* (Kane, p. 301) ; Halāyudha, author of *Purāṇa-sarvasva* (written in 1474 A.D.) and son of a Varendra Brahman Puruṣottama (Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.* pp. 84-87, Nos. 143-44 ; Eggeling, *op. cit.* IV. 1410) ; the Mahākavi Halāyudha, author of *Dharma-viveka* (H. P. Śāstrī, *Notices*, I. 195-96) ; Halāyudha, author of *Dvija-nayana* (Mitra, *Notices*, II. 66-67, No. 633) which is an astronomical work on the determination of auspicious time for ceremonies ; Halāyudha, author of a *Śrāddha-bhāṣya* (*B.G.S. Cat.* Fasc. iii. p. 130) or *Śrāddha-paddhati-ṭīkā* (*JASB.* 1915, p. 331) ; and Mahāmahopādhyāya Halāyudha, author of *Karmopadeśinī*, who was later than the 15th century (*Ibid.* p. 335). Mitra (*Notices*, II. 79, No. 652) assigns to our Halāyudha a miscellaneous Tāntric compilation called *Matsya-sūkta-tantra* in twelve Paṭalas on food, purification, Vrata etc.; but a fragment of the same work noticed by him in the same catalogue (No. 608), as well as in other catalogues (*Auf.-Cat.* I. 422 ; II. 97 ; III. 91), is anonymous (a MS. of the *Matsya-sūkta* in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal has Halāyudha's name in the colophon).

369. L. Heller, *Kavi-rahasya* (Diss.), Goettingen 1894, following R. G. Bhandarkar (*Report*, 1883-84, pp. 8-9), shows that the lexicographer Halāyudha lived in the 10th century, writing first the *Abhidhāna-ratna-mālā*, then the grammatical poem *Kavi-rahasya* (A.D. 950), then the *Mṛta-saṅjīvanī* on the *Piṅgala-chandaḥ-sūtra* under Muñja Vākpatirāja. See also Zachariae, *Die indischen Woerterbücher*, Strassburg 1897, p. 26 and Preface to

The contribution of Bengal to other technical Śāstras in this period is almost negligible. To philosophy it contributed nothing, although there was perhaps much scope in this direction for discrediting Buddhistic thought and ideas ; but Bengal obviously preferred practical ritualistic regulation to abstract speculative thought. To the grammatical literature, again, its contribution is meagre and uncertain. The only grammarian who has been seriously claimed³⁷⁰ is the Buddhist Puruṣottamadeva, author of the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* on Pāṇini, but his affiliation to Bengal is extremely problematic. The only direct evidence is the statement occurring in the *Artha-vivṛti* commentary on the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* by Sṛṣṭidhara, a late Bengal commentator of the 17th century,³⁷¹ who tells us that Puruṣottama wrote his work under the direction of Lakṣmaṇasena, who wanted him to omit the Vedic rules.³⁷² That this statement is fanciful is rendered likely by the fact that in omitting the Vedic rules Puruṣottama, himself a Buddhist,³⁷³ was following the usual tradition of Buddhist writers,³⁷⁴ and there is no reason why Lakṣmaṇasena, whose interest in Vedic ritualistic writings

Aufrecht's ed. of *Abhidhāna-ratna*⁰, London 1861, pp. iv-vi. Halāyudha's *Kavi-rahasya* was edited by Saurindra Mohan Tagore, Calcutta 1876 ; also by L. Heller, in two recensions, Greifwald 1900. His commentary on Piṅgala has been printed very often in India (Bibl. Ind. 1874 ; NSP. Bombay 1908) ; also in Roman transliteration, with translation, in Weber's *Indische Studien (Ueber die Metrik der Inder)*, VIII (1863).

370. S. C. Chakravarti in the Preface to his ed. of the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, VRS. 1918 ; D. C. Bhattacharya in *AJV*. III. Pt. I. pp. 203-04. Various other grammatical works are found under the name Puruṣottama or Puruṣottamadeva ; and the tendency has been to ascribe them all to this well-known grammarian. He is said to have written a *Paribhāṣā-vṛtti*, called *Lalita-paribhāṣā* (Mitra, *Notices*. VII. 166, No. 2402 ; MS. in the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi), a *Uṇādi-vṛtti* quoted by Ujjvaladatta, a *Gaṇa-vṛtti* and a *Daśa-bala-kārikā*. Other works are : *Kāraka-cakra* (Mitra, *Notices*, VII. 116, No. 2345 ; the author also a Buddhist) on the use of cases ; *Jñāpaka-samuccaya* (Aufrecht, *Bodleian Cat.*, pp. 160-61, No. 353) which cites *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* ; and even a *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* commentary on the grammatical *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* (Mitra, VI. 216-17 No. 2155).

371. So S. C. Chakravarti, *op. cit.* introd. p. 10 ; but D. C. Bhattacharya, *loc. cit.* assigns him to c. 1500 A.D. H. P. Śāstrī (Preface to *Descriptive Cat. of ASB*. MSS. IV.) speaks rightly of the unreliable character of Sṛṣṭidhara's statement. The authority of this commentator is also questioned by D. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* p. 198.

372. *Vaidika-prayogānarthino Lakṣmaṇasenasya rāṣṇa ājñayā*.

373. As his invocation to the Buddha and reference to the Bauddha Jina (iii. 3. 173), Bauddha-darśana and Bauddha-mata (ii. 1. 9, iv. 2. 114) and Sugata Tāyin (i. 4. 32) would indicate.

374. E.g. Candragomin whom he mentions in vii. 2. 69. He professes also to base his commentary on the *Bhāga-vṛtti*, which admittedly makes the unorthodox division of Vedic and Sanskrit rules. The exact date of Puruṣottamadeva of the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* is not known. As he refers to a difference of opinion between Śrūtapāla and Kayyāṭa (c. 10th century A.D.) and as he quotes (ii. 4. 23)

cannot be doubted³⁷⁵ should make this extraordinary request when such an omission is clearly disapproved by orthodox Hindu tradition.³⁷⁶ The facts that the grammar had circulation in North Bengal and Mithilā³⁷⁷ and that Puruṣottama refers (ii. 4. 7) to Varendrī are not conclusive³⁷⁸. If Sarvānanda quotes from the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*³⁷⁹ as early as 1159 A.D., the position becomes still more uncertain. The identity, again, of the grammarian Puruṣottama with the lexicographer of that name is plausible but unproved; and the latter's belonging to Bengal cannot be confidently asserted.³⁸⁰ The only grounds of identity are that both bore the same, but not an uncommon, name, and that both were Buddhists; but there

anonymously from the *Kīcaka-vadha* of Nītivārman (ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1929, ii. 25d), which work cannot be placed later than the middle of the 11th century, we can provisionally take the 10th century as the upper limit of his date; the lower limit is given by the reference of Sarvānanda in 1159 A.D., which is discussed below.

375. Lakṣmaṇasena's copper-plates refer to his gifts to Brāhmaṇas, proficient in Vedic lore, and to his performance of orthodox ritualistic ceremonies.

376. This tradition is mentioned by S. C. Chakravarti, *op. cit.* introd. p. 7; D. C. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.* p. 198.

377. H. P. Śāstrī, *Nepal Cat.* I. p. vi. More relevant, but not conclusive, is the one instance (S. C. Chakravarti, introd. p. 8) of Puruṣottama's reference to the Bengali pronunciation of *b* and *v*. The other argument that he quotes the apologetic phrase of Bengal scribes *lekhako nāsti-doṣakaḥ* (ii. 2. 24) proves nothing. All these arguments do not exclude the other traditions of his belonging to Mithilā and Orissa.

378. The Govardhana cited by Puruṣottama in the illustration *upagovardhanam śābdikāḥ* (i. 4. 87) is certainly not the poet Ācārya Govardhana mentioned by Jayadeva but a Śābdika who is cited by Ujjvaladatta, Sarvānanda and Rāyamukuta as the author of a *Uṇādi-vṛti*. There is no ground for thinking that this Govardhana, as well as Keśava cited by Puruṣottama, belonged to Bengal.

379. The two references to Puruṣottamadeva are doubtful. On Amara ii. 6. 22, Sarvānanda says: *puruṣottamadevena gurviṇītyasya durghaṭe'sādhutvam uktam*, but no *gurviṇī* form is discussed by Puruṣottama (see iv. 1. 44). Nor does it refer to Śaraṇa's *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*. Apparently it is a reference to another Puruṣottama who was the author of a *Durghaṭa*. Sarvānanda's other reference (on Amara ii. 7. 23) is to a *Uṇādi* commentary. The remaining citations appear to be from the lexicographer Puruṣottama. The *Puruṣottama-ṭikā* (on Amara ii. 8. 91) however may be a reference to the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* but *Bh.-vṛtti* iii. 1. 135 does not discuss the form in question. The explicit mention of *Bhāṣā-vṛtti* itself in ii. 8. 16 is the only undoubted reference to *Bh.-vṛtti* v. 1. 124, where the formation of *dautya* referred to is discussed. It is clear, therefore, that Sarvānanda refers to more than one Puruṣottama. Śaraṇadeva's quotations from Puruṣottamadeva cannot be located in the *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*.

380. As in *IC.* II. 262.

is also a tradition³⁸¹ that the lexicographer belonged to Kalinga. All the four lexical works of the author are quoted by Sarvānanda and must, therefore, be earlier than 1159 A.D. The *Trikāṇḍa-śeṣa* of Puruṣottama³⁸² is, as its name implies,³⁸³ a supplement in three parts (1050 verses) to the *Amara-kośa*, the professed object being to supply those words which Amara left out.³⁸⁴ The *Hārāvali*,³⁸⁵ a smaller work of 278 verses, is in two parts, which deal respectively with synonymous and homonymous words not in common use. The *Varṇa-deśanā*,³⁸⁶ in prose, treats of orthographical variations, giving a collection of differently spelt words, and mentions such cases of confusion as between *kṣ* and *kh*, which, he says, is due to the similarity of the characters employed, among others, by the Gaudas (*gaudādi-lipi-sādhāraṇāt*). The *Dvirūpa-kośa*³⁸⁷ is a brief work of seventy-five verses, dealing with words which are spelt in two different ways.³⁸⁸ These are useful compilations but in no way very remarkable works.³⁸⁹

Kṣīrasvāmin in the latter half of the 11th century quotes and criticises as erroneous a Gauda author more than fifteen times in his commentary on the *Amara-kośa*, and also gives more than five further references where the word Gauda in the citation is used in the plural, apparently meaning a school rather than an individual. But unfortunately we know nothing of any early lexical writers of Gauda to whom he might be referring.

381. Introd. to ed. of *Trikāṇḍa*⁰, mentioned below.

382. VP. 1915. The author calls himself Puruṣottama (also in *Hārāvali*), and not Puruṣottama-deva as in *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*.

383. The *Amara-kośa* being in three Kāṇḍas. It has nothing to do with the lexicon *Trikāṇḍa* of Bhāguri mentioned in *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, iv. 4. 113.

384. It gives, for instance, 37 more names of the Buddha than Amara's 17, and mentions the Śrāvaka, the Pratyekabuddhas, and the Buddhist work *Prajñāpāramitā*.

385. Ed. in *Abhidhāna-saṃgraha* I, Bombay 1889.

386. Ms. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* II. 295, No. 1039/1475a.

387. Ed. in *Abhidhāna-saṃgraha* I, Bombay 1889. Mss. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* II. 294, No. 1037; Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.*, No. 449-50 (anon.).

388. Other works ascribed are: the *Ekākṣara-kośa*, which is a homonymous vocabulary of syllabic signs or monosyllables used as words (MSS. in Eggeling, *op. cit.* II. 296, No. 1042/1475a; Aufrecht, *Bod. Cat.* p. 189, Nos. 431-32); but the Bodleian MS. calls the author Puruṣottama-deva-śarman; *Uṣma-bheda* (Mitra, *Notices*, VI. 231, No. 2170), which consists of three separate vocabularies on the three sibilants; *Jakāra-bheda* (Mitra, II. 311, No. 915), a vocabulary of words having *j*, as distinguished from *y* (also includes the three sibilants and the nasals *n* and *ṇ*); *Śabda-bheda-prakāśa*, on words differently spelt (Mitra, VI. 298, No. 2235; but see I. 118, No. 223, where the work is assigned to Śiva); it is different from the *Dvirūpa-kośa*.

389. On these work see, Th. Zachariae, *Ind. Woerterbücher*, pp. 23 f, 38 f; Ramavataṛa Sarma, Introd. to *Kalpādrū-kośa* (GOS. 1928), pp. xxi-xxiv.

The only early lexicographer, whose Bengal origin admits of little doubt, comes after Kṣīrṣavāmin. This is Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda, son of Ārtihara,³⁹⁰ and author of a commentary, entitled *Ṭikā-sarvasva*,³⁹¹ on Amara's lexicon. The Vandyaghaṭī is well known as the name of a place in Rāḍhā from which Vandya or Vandyaghaṭīya Brahmans take their name;³⁹² but it is curious that Sarvānanda's name is missing in the list of Bengal genealogical writers, and that manuscripts of his commentary have not as yet been found in Bengal,³⁹³ but have been discovered in Southern India. Sarvānanda himself gives a clue to his date³⁹⁴ when he says (on Amara i. 4. 21) that the Śaka year 1081 and the Kali year 4260 had just passed at the moment he was writing; a statement which gives us the date 1159-60 A. D. He was acquainted with a commentary called *Daśa-ṭikā* (*daśa-ṭikā-vid*);³⁹⁵ and in his painstaking work not only earlier commentaries but nearly two hundred works and authors are cited. It is in no way inferior to the commentary of Kṣīrṣavāmin, and is interesting for the number of Deśī (mostly Bengali)³⁹⁶ words cited in it. That the work was not forgotten is shown by its citation by Bṛhaspati Rāyamukūṭa, the next important Bengal commentator on the *Amara-kośa*, who wrote his *Padacandrikā* in 1431 A.D.

If Bengal's contribution to the technical Śāstras, with the exception perhaps of ritualistic writings, had been poor and almost insignificant, it was more than made up by the respectable body of poetical literature it produced in this period, which excelled that of any other period in its history, and which contributed at least one remarkable poem of enduring fame and quality. The available references, though scanty, sufficiently indicate the literary taste and liberality of the later Sena kings, Vallālasena, Lakṣmaṇasena and Keśavasena. They were not only generous

390. We need not take the explanation of Haraprasād Śāstrī (Note to Śeṣagiri Śāstrī's *Report*, II) that Ārtihara denotes a person who has married a girl of superior status, and there is no reason to doubt that it was the actual name of his father (see S. K. De, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 472, note 3). Cf. *HB*, Ch. xv.

391. Ed. *TSS.* in four parts, 1914-17.

392. Raghunandana similarly calls himself Vandyaghaṭīya Hariharātmaja.

393. An Oḍiyā Ms. of the work is noticed by H. P. Śāstrī in *Notices*, 2nd Series, IV. No. 101, p. 76-77.

394. See the question discussed in *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 135-36, 900 f.

395. The phrase *daśa-ṭikā* does not probably mean ten commentaries, but gives the name of a commentary on Amara, which is cited by this name by Lingabhaṭṭa, another commentator on Amara (see S. C. Vidyabhaṣan's ed. of Subhūticandra's *Kāmadhenu-ṭikā* on Amara, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1912, p. ix).

396. For a discussion of these words, see the two articles respectively of Jogesh Chandra Ray and Basanta Ranjan Roy in *VSP.* (B.S. 1336=1929 A.D.), Pt. 2. The number of words is over 300.

patrons of learning and themselves men of learning, but they were also poets and friends of poets. We have a poetical anthology, entitled *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*³⁹⁷ and compiled in Bengal towards the end of the period, on the 20th Phālguna, Saka 1127 (=11th February, 1206 A. D.),³⁹⁸ which furnishes important material for the study of the poetical literature. Its compiler Śrīdharadāsa was the son of Vaṭudāsa, who is described as the chief feudatory (Mahāsāmanta-cūḍāmaṇi)³⁹⁹ and close friend of Lakṣmaṇasena. The work, bearing ample testimony to compiler's taste and industry by its fine and varied collection, in five parts, of 2370 verses of 485 authors⁴⁰⁰ gives us some excellent detached stanzas of poets, who are otherwise unknown and some of whom probably belonged to Bengal.⁴⁰¹ It is difficult, however, to single out, from mere names of the authors or subject-matter of the verses, the poets who actually belonged to Bengal, but there are some who are known to us from other sources.⁴⁰² Among these may be mentioned the royal

397. The work is also called *Sūkti-karṇāmṛta* in some MSS. Only two fasc. of the work containing 184 pages, ed. Ramavatara Sarma, was published in Bibl. Ind. (till 1921); but the complete work was edited by the same, and printed with introd. and additional readings by Haradatta Sarma, Lahore 1933. The edition professes to utilise but gives no account of two MSS. including the one (imperfectly collated) existing in the Serampore College Library; but since two very important MSS. of the work, viz., those in the ASB. and Calcutta Sanskrit College Library do not appear to have been utilised, its value is considerably impaired; and the method of editing is hardly critical. The work itself was noticed by Aufrecht in *ZDMG.* XXXVI. 361 f, 509 f; by Pischel in his *Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, Goettingen 1893; and by Monomohan Chakravarti in *JASB.* 1906, pp. 174-176.

398. Cf *HB* p. 232.

399. Whose high praise is recorded in five verses (v. 76. 1-5) respectively of five contemporary poets, Mathu, Sāñcādhara, Vetāla, Umāpatidhara and Kaviraja-Vyāsa. The colophon speaks of Śrīdharadāsa as Mahāmāṇḍalika.

400. The five parts, called Pravāhas, are entitled respectively Deva, Sṛṅgāra, Cāṭu, Apadeśa and Uccāvaca, and contain 95, 179, 54, 72 and 76 sections (called Vici). As each Vici is arranged to contain symmetrically five verses, the total number of verses should have been 2380, but as several verses appear to be lost, the actual number in the printed text is 2370.

401. The compiler of the anthology, however, did not confine himself to Bengal nor even to his own time, but selected his materials widely from old and new, known and unknown sources. His Vaiṣṇavite leanings made him give a large number of verses on Kṛṣṇa, some of which have been freely utilised by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Padyāvalī*.

402. As the Sanskrit anthologies will be cited several times hereafter, the following abbreviations will be employed: *Skm.*=*Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, ed. Ramavatara Sarma,

poets, Vallālasena (one verse)⁴⁰³ Lakṣmaṇasena (11 verses)⁴⁰⁴ and Keśavasena (six verses)⁴⁰⁵ as well as Dhoyī, Umāpatidhara, Govardhana, Śaraṇa and Jayadeva.

There is in this anthology a self-laudatory verse of Dhoyī (v. 29. 2)⁴⁰⁶ which extols, not undeservedly, Lakṣmaṇasena as the Vikramāditya of Bengal. A traditional verse⁴⁰⁷ speaks of five, if not nine, gems of his court, and they are enumerated as Govardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadeva, Umāpati and Kavirāja.⁴⁰⁸ Of this Kavirāja, which is obviously a title⁴⁰⁹ borne by many a poet, we know nothing. He cannot be identified with the well-known Kavirāja, author of the *Rāghava-pāṇḍaviya*, whose patron was Kāmadeva of the Kadamba dynasty (i. 13).⁴¹⁰ It has been suggested with greater probability that the Kavirāja refers to Dhoyī,⁴¹¹ who is described by Jayadeva as Kavi-kṣmāpati⁴¹² and who styles himself similarly in his own *Pavana-dūta*⁴¹³ (verses 101, 103). Jayadeva describes him also as Śrutidhara,

Lahore 1933 ; *Śp.*=*Śārṅgadharā-paddhati*, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay 1888 ; *Sbhv.*=*Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabha-deva, ed. P. Peterson, Bombay 1886 ; *Pdv.*=*Padyāvalī*, ed. S. K. De, Dacca 1934 ; *Sml.*=*Sūktimuktāvalī* of Jahlaṇa, ed. Ember Krishnamacharya, GOS. 1938 ; *Kvs.*=*Kavindra-vacana-samuccaya*, ed. F. W. Thomas, Bibl. Ind. 1912.

403. *Sk.* IV. 6. 3=*Śp.* No. 763.

404. A verse of Lakṣmaṇasena is given also in *Śp.* No. 923.

405. A Mādhava is quoted six times in the printed text, but no Mādhavasena, as Aufrecht, *ZDMG.* xxxvi. 540-41 found in his MS. M. Chakravarti, *op. cit.* p. 172 gives only one verse (*Sk.* IV. 48, 3) as quoted from Mādhavasena on the authority of his three MSS. (Mādhava in the printed text). From Halāyudha three verses are quoted in *Sk.* ; but as one of these (I. 63. 4) occurs in the much earlier anthology *Kvs.* No. 48 (Mālāyudhasya), it is doubtful if the contemporary Halāyudha is meant.

406. The first half of this verse agrees with the first half of *Pavana-dūta* 101, but the last half is given differently. Śrīdhara certainly knew this poem for he quotes verse 104=*Sk.* v. 61. 5.

407. It runs thus (*Sbhv.*, introd. p. 38 ; Pischel. *op. cit.* p. 5) : *Govardhanaśca Śaraṇo Jayadeva Umāpatiḥ/ Kavirājaśca ratnāni samitau Lakṣmaṇasya ca//*, a most pedestrian couplet, which however probably preserves an old tradition.

408. This is confirmed by Kumbha (14th century) in his comment on Jayadeva I. 4, but Kumbha mentions six, adding Dhoyī and substituting Śrutidhara for Kavirāja.

409. A much coveted title if we are to believe Rājaśekhara.

410. This poet, whose real name was perhaps Mādhava Bhaṭṭa, would be almost contemporaneous. See Pischel, *op. cit.* p. 37.

411. The name is given also as Dhoī, Dhoyika or Dhuyī.

412. Which is equivalent to Kavirāja as explained by all scholiast (see Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 33-34).

413. *Kavi-kṣmābhṛtām cakravartī*. The colophon describes him as *Dhoyī-kavirāja*. Cf. *Sk.* v. 29. 2.

an epithet over the interpretation of which as an intended compliment there has been much diversity of opinion.⁴¹⁴ The *Pavana-dūta*,⁴¹⁵ as its name implies, is one of the earliest Dūta-kāvya written in imitation of Kālidāsa's famous poem, and consists of 104 stanzas in the Mandākrāntā metre. The poem is remarkable for its taking up, without its being a Carita, an historical personage for its hero, and furnishes interesting historical and geographical information. With the object of eulogising his patron the poet makes Kuvalaya-vatī, a Gandharva maiden of the Malaya hills, fall in love with Lakṣmaṇasena, king of Gauḍa, during the latter's alleged career of conquest in the South; and the elegant, if somewhat conventional, poem describes with considerable poetic talent the route to be followed by the north-easterly spring wind in carrying the message of the love-sick heroine to the royal hero. Dhoyī refers to several other unnamed works composed by himself. This is rendered likely by the fact that more than twenty verses, not traceable in the poem, are ascribed to him in the anthologies.⁴¹⁶

To the other court-poets of Lakṣmaṇasena also we have a reference by Jayadeva in the opening verse (i. 4) of his *Gīta-govinda* mentioned above. We are told that Umāpatidhara could make the words sprout (*vācaḥ pallavayati*).⁴¹⁷ The *Sadukti-*

414. *Viśrutaḥ śrutidharo Dhoyī kavi-kṣmā-patiḥ*. Kumbha in his commentary on the *Gīta-govinda* is inclined to find a reference to a scholar named Śrutidhara; but most other scholiasts agree that it is an epithet of Dhoyī. They explain the word as "one who can remember what he hears once," i.e. a person of strong memory, which may imply that Jayadeva means by this phrase to convey Dhoyī's power of memory and imitativeness, and consequent want of originality as evinced by his *Pavana-dūta*. But Pischel rightly observes, as against Lassen (ed. *Gīta-govinda*, Bonn 1836, p. 73) that this and other phrases of Jayadeva in this verse are not meant as a disparagement of his estimable contemporaries, but to indicate their particular literary quality. The variant reading is Śrutadhara. Might not the phrase mean "well versed in the Veda"? (see Wilson, *Sansk.-Eng. Dict.*, Calcutta 1832, s. v.). A poet Śrutadhara, however, is quoted in *Śp.* Nos. 1144, 3910, in *Sbv.* Nos. 625, 931, 1680, and *Sml.*, 32. 10, p. 105; but these verses, do not occur in the *Pavana-dūta*.

415. The poem was first brought to notice by H. P. Sāstrī (in *Notices*, 2nd Series I. Pt. 2, pp. 221-22, No. 225), who gave an abstract of its contents in *Proc. ASB.* July 1898. It was edited from a single MS. by Monomohan Chakravarti in *JASB.* 1905, pp. 53-71; re-edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti in *SPS.*, No. 13, Calcutta 1926.

416. Besides 20 in *Skm.*, we have two in *Sml.* (mentioned as Goyidhoyī-kavirāja); but one of these verses (p. 246; *nija-nayana-pratibimbaiḥ = Sāhitya-darpaṇa* ad VIII. 15, anon.) is assigned to Dharaṇīdhara in *Kvs.* 153 and *Skm.* (II. 70. 2.), and one in *Śp.* No. 1161 (= *Skm.* IV. 2. 2, *Umāpatidharasya*).

417. The interpretation of the phrase has been fully discussed by Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 14-17. It has been variously taken to imply verbosity, love of recondite words, floridity, bombast, superficiality, as well as mastery of lexicography. In this connexion Pischel

karnāmṛta, which quotes about ninety verses of Umāpatidhara, as well as of one Umāpati (i. 11. 3; iii. 17. 4; v. 29. 1, 61. 3, 3, 73. 3)⁴¹⁸ mentions under the latter name (v. 29. 1) a poem, *Candra-cūḍa-carita*, composed under a prince named Cāṇakyaacandra, who is otherwise unknown but who is conjectured by Pischel to have been a vassal of Lakṣmaṇasena. Some of these anthology verses are remarkable, but they are of unequal merit. The name of Umāpatidhara occurs also as that of the author of the Praśasti in the Deopārā inscription⁴¹⁹ of Vijayasena, father of Vallālasena. Beginning with an invocation to Śiva, it commemorates the erection by the king of the temple of Pradyumneśvara, who is described as a combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu, and records the genealogy and career of the king in thirty-six verses composed in a variety of classical metres. Four of these verses (Nos. 7, 23, 24, 30) occur in the *Sadukti*⁰ (III. 49. 4; III. 17. 5; III. 5. 5; III. 17. 4) with Umāpatidhara's name; while one verse ascribed to Umāpatidhara in the anthology (I. 72. 4) is found in the Mādhānagar copper-plate⁴²⁰ of Lakṣmaṇasena (v. 2), the authorship of which, on this ground, has sometimes been credited to him. The Deopārā inscription informs us that Umāpatidhara lived during the reign of Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty (*senānvaya*) and refers to the author's "understanding purified by the study of words and their meanings". If any reliance can be placed on the tradition recorded by Merutuṅga in his *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*⁴²¹ that Umāpatidhara was a minister of Lakṣmaṇasena, then he lived in the successive reigns of Vijayasena, his son and his grandson.⁴²²

examines the Deopārā inscription composed by Umāpatidhara and concludes that the poet's mastery over verbal expression is manifest even in this short composition of 36 verses. On this poet see also Aufrecht, *ZDMG.* XL. 142 f.

418. The two names often occur side by side under verses consecutively quoted in *Skm.*; this would probably imply that a distinction was meant. The four verses of Umāpatidhara in *Pdv.* (Nos. 148, 259, 371, 372) occur under the same name in *Skm.* *Śp.* gives two verses (Nos. 755, 3490), but the first of these occurs in *Skm.* (IV. 5. 4) with the name Rāmadāsa. *Śp.* No. 1161 ascribed to Dhoyī is credited, probably more correctly, to Umāpatidhara in *Skm.* (IV. 2. 2). *Sml.* has fifteen verses, of which one (*tenākhāni*, p. 375) is assigned to Umāpatidhara (v. 13. 2) and four others (pp. 121, 89, 346, 150) are ascribed respectively to Śailasarvajña (iv. 2. 3), Ācārya Gopikā (IV. 39. 2), Dhanañjaya (iii. 43. 3) and Dhoyīka (II. 137. 3) in *Skm.* Three verses of Umāpatidhara in *Skm.* (iii. 20. 4; III. 26. 4; v. 18. 3) refer to Prāgjyotiṣa, Kāśī-janapada and Mleccha-narendra in connexion with an unknown king. Cf. *HB*, p. 219, f.n. 3.

419. *EI.* I. 305-15; re-edited, *IB.* 43.

420. *IB.* 109.

421. Ed. Ramchandra Dinanath, Bombay 1888, p. 289; see Tawney's translation, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1901, pp. 181 f.

422. An anonymous commentary on the *Gīta-govinda* (cited by Lassen *op. cit.*

The high tribute paid by Jayadeva to Ācārya Govardhana that he had no rival in the composition of faultless erotic verse⁴²³ enables us to identify him with Govardhanācārya, author of *Āryā-saptaśatī*⁴²⁴ a punning verse (No. 39) of which refers to an illustrious king of the Sena dynasty (*sena-kula-tilaka-bhūpati*). In verse 38 the poet speaks of his learned father Nīlāmbara who appears to have composed a work on Dharma-śāstra, while in one of the concluding verses he mentions his brothers and pupils, Udayana⁴²⁵ and Balabhadra⁴²⁶ who helped him in revising and publishing his poem. The honorific Ācārya, mentioned by Jayadeva as well as by the poem itself (verses 51, 702), perhaps indicates his high rank as a scholar and poet. The poem, as its name indicates, is a collection of a little over 700 detached verses⁴²⁷ in the Āryā metre, alphabetically arranged in sections, most of which have a predominantly erotic theme. In following the tradition of the love-poem in the stanza-form, in which the aim is to depict, within the restricted scope of a self-standing and daintily finished verse, some definite erotic situation or a definite phase of the emotion, Govardhana has obviously taken (verse 52) the Prakrit *Sattasāī* of Hāla as his model; ⁴²⁸ but he was at the same time attempting

p. 72 and Pischel, *op. cit.* p. 17) not only makes Umāpatidhara a member (Sāmājika) of Lakṣmaṇasena's court but also a Vaidya by caste! Our author is certainly to be distinguished from the much later Umāpati Upādhyāya, author of *Pārijāta-haraṇa-nāṭaka* (ed. Grierson in *JBORS.* III. 20-98), who flourished under Hindupati Harihara Deva (of Mithilā) reigning "after the Yavana rule"; this Maithila poet appears to be familiar with Jayadeva's poem.

423. As against Jayadeva's reference to the *śṛṅgārottara-sat-prameya-racana* of Ācārya Govardhana, we have verse 47 of the *Āryā-saptaśatī*, where Govardhana praises compositions which are *sotkarṣa-śṛṅgāra*.

424. Ed. Kāvya-mālā 1, Bombay 1886 (reprinted 1895), with *Vyaṅgyārtha-dīpana* commentary of Ananta-panḍita; also ed. Somanath Sarma, Dacca Saṃvat 1921 (text only, in Bengali characters). Aufrecht mentions four other commentaries. Our references are to the Bombay ed.

425. M. Chakravarti believes (*JASB.* 1906, p. 159) that this Udayana may be identical with the Udayana-kavi who composed the Praśasti of the Megheśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa (*EI.* VI. 202).

426. Under the name Balabhadra, *Skm.* quotes four verses (II. 15. 1; II. 28. 1; IV. 19. 5; IV. 50. 3).

427. The Dacca edition gives a total of 731 consecutively numbered verses; but the Bombay edition and M. Chakravarti *loc. cit.* agree that there are 54 introductory stanzas, 696 stanzas in the main body of the text and 6 concluding stanzas, giving a total of 756 verses.

428. The imitation of the Prakrit model is carried to the extent not only of using the moric Āryā metre, but also of calling the sections Vrajyās. It is interesting that the last Vrajyā is called *Kṣa-kāra Vrajyā*!

to achieve a task of no small difficulty. Such miniature painting involves the perfect expression of a pregnant idea or intense emotion by means of a few precise and elegant touches. In this Govardhana has, no doubt, attained a measure of success, but very often his verses, moving haltingly in the somewhat unsuitable medium of the Āryā metre, are more clever than poetical, and lack the inimitable flavour, wit and heartiness of Hāla's miniature word-pictures. It achieved, however, the distinction of having inspired the Hindi *Satsai* of Vihārīlāl which holds a high rank in Hindi poetry.⁴²⁹

Jayadeva also refers to another poetical contemporary, named Śaraṇa, who, in his opinion, was praiseworthy in quick and difficult composition.⁴³⁰ On this testimony of reconditeness, an attempt has been made to identify him with the grammarian Śaraṇadeva, author of the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti*,⁴³¹ a work in which difficult usages of doubtful grammatical accuracy, culled from classical authors, are justified with nicety. There is no chronological difficulty, as the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* is expressly dated in Śaka 1095 (=1173 A.D.); and the fact that its author, according to the Namaskriyā verses, was probably a Buddhist, need not seriously affect the question. But there is no evidence to justify the identification, which is only a conjecture. A verse of Śaraṇadeva quoted in the *Sadukti*^o (III. 54. 5) tells us that he flourished under some illustrious king of the Sena dynasty (*senā-vamśa-tilaka*); and another verse (III. 15. 4) of his, deprecating the neighbouring kings of Kalinga, Cedi, Kāmarūpa and the Mlecchas, makes a reference to Gauḍa-Lakṣmī. But the anthology quotes not only Śaraṇadeva four times (I. 69. 5; II. 135. 2 and the two references given above), but also Śaraṇa (extensively, fifteen times), Śaraṇadatta (III. 2. 5) and Cirantana-śaraṇa (IV. 1. 2). There is nothing very recondite in the verses quoted, and it is difficult to say if all the authors are identical.⁴³²

But the greatest among these poets is undoubtedly Jayadeva himself. The fame of his *Gīta-govinda*⁴³³ has never been confined within the limits of Bengal. It has claimed more

429. It is noteworthy that none of the stanzas of *Āryā-saptaśatī* is quoted in *Skm.* A poet Govardhana is quoted six times, but these verses cannot be traced in the poem. The *Śp.* (No. 466) and *Sml.* (p. 304) quote one verse each of Govardhanācārya in Āryā, both of which are found in the poem; but another verse credited to Govardhana in *Śp.* (No. 3400) is not traceable in either edition. Three verses of Govardhanācārya quoted in *Pdv.* occur in the poem, but the fourth verse (No. 374) similarly cited is untraceable and is given anonymously in *Skm.* (I. 58. 4).

430. *Śaraṇaḥ ślāghyo durūha-drute* (v. 1. °druteḥ, °adbhute). For interpretation see Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 24-29. S. C. Chakravarti (introd. to *Bhāṣā-vṛtti*, p. 7) explains: "Śaraṇa is praiseworthy in dealing with (liquefying) the stiff"!

431. *TSS.* No. 6, 1909.

432. The two verses assigned to Śaraṇa in *Pdv.* (Nos. 369, 370) occur under the same name in *Skm.* (I. 61. 2, 5). Only these two Bengal anthologies quote Śaraṇa.

433. Very often printed in India. The earliest edition is by Lassen, Bonn 1836. Other editions: With the *Rasika-priyā* of Kumbha and the *Rasa-mañjarī* of Śaṅkara-miśra, *NSP.* Bombay 1917, 1923; with the *Bālabodhinī* of Caitanyadāsa (first printed, Calcutta

than forty commentators from different provinces and more than a dozen imitations⁴³⁴; it has been cited extensively in the anthologies⁴³⁵; and it has been regarded not only as a great poem but also as a great religious work of mediaeval Vaiṣṇavism. It is no wonder, therefore, that the work should be claimed also by Mithilā and Orissa.⁴³⁶ Of the author himself, however, our information is scanty, although we have a large number of legends,⁴³⁷ which are matters of pious belief rather than positive historical facts. In a verse occurring in the work itself (XII. 11), which however is not commented upon by Kumbha⁴³⁸ in the middle of the 15th century, we are informed that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (variants Rādhā⁰, Vāmā⁰). The name of his wife was probably Padmāvatī,⁴³⁹ and his home was Kendubilva (III. 10),⁴⁴⁰ which has been identified with Kenduli on the bank of the

1881), ed. Harekrishna Mukherji (in Bengali characters), Calcutta 1929. For an account of the commentaries, see Lassen, *Prolegomena* to the work cited and Pischel, *op. cit.* The work has been translated into English by Sir William Jones (*Collected Works*, London 1807) and Edwin Arnold (*The Indian Song of Songs*, London 1875, free verse-rendering); into German by F. Rückert in *ZKM*. I (1837), pp. 129-173 (Berlin: Karl Schnabel 1920) and into French by G. Courtillier, Paris 1904.

434. Some of which take for their theme Rāma-Sītā and Hara-Gaurī.

435. Besides 31 verses quoted in *Skm.*, of which only two (I. 59. 4; II. 37. 4) are traceable in the poem, we have 24 quotations in the *Śp.* and 4 in *Sbhv.* The *Sml.* assigns nine verses to Jayadeva, six of which occur in the *Prasanna-rāghava* of his namesake, Jayadeva, who describes himself as the son of Sumitrā and Mahādeva of the Kaundinya-gotra, but with whom he is often confounded. One of the *Sml.* verses (p. 314) of Jayadeva occurs in the *Mahānātaka* (iv. 22)!

436. The question is discussed by M. Chakravarti in *JASB*. 1906, pp. 163-65.

437. The Hindi *Bhakta-māl* of Nābhādāsa (edited and rewritten by Nārāyaṇa-dāsa in the middle of the 17th century), as well as the Sanskrit *Bhakta-mālā* by Candradatta based on it, records some of these legends. See Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 19, 23, and Grierson, *Vernacular Lit. of India* (Calcutta 1889), Sec. 51. These legends, however, show in what light Jayadeva was glorified in the eyes of the later Vaiṣṇava devotee.

438. But it is accepted by other commentators and is found in Bühler's Kashmir MS. (*Kashmir Report*, p. 64), as well as in the Nepal MS. dated 1494 (*JASB*. 1906, p. 166).

439. The implied personal reference to Padmāvatī in i. 2 is disputed expressly by Kumbha, who would interpret the word *padmāvatī* as the goddess Lakṣmī. In x. 8 we have: *padmāvatī-ramaṇa-jayadeva-kavi*⁰, but there is a variant reading: *jayati jayadeva-kavi*⁰, which omits this word; while the third reference in XI. 8 is interpreted by Kumbha also in the same way. But Caitanyadāsa, Śaṅkara-miśra and other commentators take these passages as implying a reference to the proper name of Jayadeva's wife. The legend that Padmāvatī was a dancing girl, and Jayadeva supplied the musical accompaniment to her dancing, is said to be implied by means of punning in Jayadeva's self-description as *padmāvatī-carāṇa-cārāṇa-cakravartin* in I. 2.

440. The name is given variously as Kindu⁰, Tindu⁰, or Sindhu⁰. Kumbha takes it as

river Ajaya in the district of Birbhum, where an annual fair is still held in his memory on the last day of Māgha. The various songs in the poem indicate that the poet had also a knowledge of music. Jayadeva himself does not give any independent clue to his date ; but the traditional accounts⁴⁴¹ agree in placing him in the court of king Lakṣmaṇasena ; and apart from the poet's own references to Dhoyī and Ācārya Govardhana, which point to the period of Sena rule, a verse from the *Gīta-govinda* (I. 16) is said to occur in an inscription dated 1292 A.D.,⁴⁴² while two verses (I. 59. 4 and II. 37. 4) given by *Sadukti*⁰ as Jayadeva's are found in the poem (XI. 11 and VI. 11).

The *Gīta-govinda*, with its erotic emotionalism, has been claimed by the Caitanya sect as one of its sources of religious inspiration ; and Bengal Vaiṣṇavism would regard the work not so much as a poetical composition of great beauty as an authoritative religious text, illustrating the refined subtleties of its theology and Rasa-śāstra. The theme as well as inspiration of Jayadeva's poem, like those of the Maithili Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs of Vidyāpati,⁴⁴³ would doubtless lend themselves to such interpretation, but the attitude has somewhat seriously affected the proper appreciation of Jayadeva's work. It should not be forgotten that Jayadeva flourished at least three centuries before the promulgation of the Rasa-śāstra of Rūpa Gosvāmin ; and the Kṛṣṇaism, which emerges in a finished literary form in his poem, as in the Maithili songs of Vidyāpati, should not be equalised with that presented by the dogmas and doctrines of later scholastic theologians.⁴⁴⁴ As a poet of undoubted gifts, it could not have been his concern to compose a religious treatise according to any

the name of the village where the poet resided or as his Śāsana ; Caitanyadāsa believes it to be the name of his Grāma and family (Kula) ; Śaṅkara thinks it to be the Vṛtti-grāma of Jayadeva's family.

441. For references see Pischel, *op. cit.* pp. 5-6.

442. See *JASB*. 1906, pp. 168-69. This is the stone-inscription (facsimile published by M. R. Majumdar, *Journ. University of Bombay*, VI. part 6, 125), dated Samvat 1348 (=1292 A.D.), of the time of Śārṅgadeva Vaghelā of Gujarat, which reproduces the Daśāvātāra-stuti verse (*Gīta-govinda* I. 16 : *vedān uddharate*) as a benedictory stanza. Two poems, ascribed to Jayadeva, in praise of Hari-Govinda, are preserved in the Sikh *Ādi-Granth*, but in their present form they are in Western Apabhraṃśa.

443. As his works testify, Vidyāpati, also a court-poet, was undoubtedly a Smārta Pañcōpāsaka, but the followers of Caitanya have attempted to transform him also into a Vaiṣṇava devotee. The question has been discussed by H. P. Śāstrī in his edition of Vidyāpati's *Kīrti-lātā*.

444. For a discussion of this question, as well as on the sources of Jayadeva's poem, cf. S. K. De, *Pre-Caitanya Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal* (*Festschrift M. Winternitz*, pp. 196f) and in *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal*, pp. 7-10. There are parallelisms between the treatment by Jayadeva, on the one hand, and the *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa* on the other, of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend and its erotico-religious possibilities in a vivid background of sensuous charm ; but there is no conclusive proof of Jayadeva's indebtedness to the Purāṇa. Nor is it probable that the source of Jayadeva's inspiration was the Kṛṣṇa-

particular Vaiṣṇava dogmatics ; ⁴⁴⁵ he claims merit as a poet, and his religious inspiration should not be allowed to obscure this proper claim. If he selected the love-story of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, fascinating to mediaeval India, the divine love that he depicts is considerably humanised in an atmosphere of passionate poetic appeal.

There cannot be any doubt that the *Gīta-govinda*, both in its emotional and literary aspects, occupies a distinctive place in the history of Sanskrit poetry. Jayadeva emphasises the praise and worship of Kṛṣṇa and claims religious merit, but he prides himself upon the elegance, clarity and music of his diction, as well as upon the felicity and richness of his sentiments. The claims are in no way extravagant. Even if there is nothing new in it, the theme must have been a living reality to the poet as well as to his audience. But the literary form in which this theme is presented is extremely original. The work calls itself a Kāvya and conforms to the formal division into cantos, but in reality it goes much beyond the stereotype Kāvya prescribed by the rhetoricians ; and modern critics have found in it a lyric drama (Lassen), a pastoral (Jones), an opera (Lévi), a melodrama (Pischel) and a refined Yātrā (von Schroeder). As a creative work of art it has a form of its own, but it defies conventional classification. Though cast in a semi-dramatic mould, the spirit is entirely lyrical ; though modelled perhaps on the prototype of the popular Kṛṣṇa-yātrā in its choral and melodramatic peculiarities, it is yet far removed from the old Yātrā by its want of improvisation and mimetic qualities ; though imbued with religious feeling, the attitude is yet eminently secular ; though intended and still used for popular festival where simplicity and directness count, it yet possesses all the distinctive characteristics of a deliberate work of art. Except the introductory descriptive and narrative verses composed in the orthodox metres of classical poetry, we have interlucutions consisting of melodious padāvalīs, which are meant to be sung but to which metric metres are skilfully suited ; while the use of the refrain with these songs not only intensifies their haunting melody but also combines the detached stanzas into a perfect whole. We have thus narration, description and speech finely interwoven with recitation and song, a combination which creates a type unknown in Sanskrit. Again, the

Gopī legend of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which avoids all direct mention of Rādhā and describes the autumnal, and not the vernal (as in Jayadeva), Rāsa-līlā. There must have been other wide-spread tendencies of a similar kind from which Jayadeva, like Vidyāpati of later times, derived his inspiration. Even in Caitanya's time, when *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* emotionalism was fully established (the work being the almost exclusive scripture of the Caitanya sect), we have evidence of other currents of Vaiṣṇava devotionism.

445. That Jayadeva had no sectarian purpose is also shown by the fact that the Sahajiyā sect also regards him as its Ādi-guru and one of its nine Rasikas. The Vallabhācāri sect also recognises the *Gīta-govinda*, in direct imitation of which Vallabhācārya's son Viṭṭhaleśvara wrote his *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana*.

erotic mysticism, which expresses fervent religious longings in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion, and of which Jayadeva's work is one of the earliest and best literary examples,⁴⁴⁶ supplies the picturesque and emotional inflatus, in a novel yet familiar form, by transforming the mighty sex-impulse into an ecstatic devotional sentiment. All the conventions and the traditions of Sanskrit love-poetry have been skilfully utilised, and the whole effect is heightened by blending it harmoniously with the surrounding beauty of nature. All this, again, is enveloped in a fine excess of pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour, of which it is difficult to find a parallel. Jayadeva makes a wonderful use indeed of the sheer beauty of words and their inherent melody, of which Sanskrit is so capable; and like all artistic masterpieces, his work becomes almost untranslatable. No doubt, in all this there is deliberate workmanship, but all effort is successfully concealed in an effective simplicity and clarity, in a series of passionate and extremely musical word-pictures.

In its novelty and completeness of effect, Jayadeva's work, therefore, is unique in Sanskrit, and can be regarded as almost creating a new literary *genre*. It does not strictly follow the Sanskrit tradition, but bears closer resemblance to the spirit and style of Apabhraṃśa or vernacular poetry. The musical Padāvalīs, which form the staple of the poem, are indeed composed in Sanskrit but really conform to the vernacular manner of expression and employ rhymed and melodious moric metres which are hardly akin to older Sanskrit metres.⁴⁴⁷ The verses are not isolated, but rhyme and refrain wind them up into compact stanzas, which, again, is a well-known characteristic of vernacular song and lyric. The very term Padāvalī, which became so familiar in later Bengali song, is not found in this sense in Sanskrit, but is obviously taken from popular poetry. A consideration of these peculiarities makes Pischel suggest⁴⁴⁸ that Jayadeva's poem goes back to an Apabhraṃśa original; but, apart from the fact that no such tradition exists, literary and historical considerations will entirely rule out the theory. It should not be forgotten that the *Gīta-govinda* was composed in an epoch when the classical Sanskrit literature was already on the decline, and when it was possible for such apparently irregular types to come into existence, presumably through the choral and melodramatic tendencies of vernacular literature, which was by this time gradually coming into prominence. It is conceivable that popular festive performances, like the religious Yātrā, with their mythological theme, quasi-

446. With the notable exception of the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, of which, however, no influence is traceable in Jayadeva's poem. See *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*, ed. S. K. De, introd., pp. xxvi-xxvii.

447. On the use of rhyme in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa poetry, see Keith-*Lit*, 197-98. The rhyme in Sanskrit is not Antya-yamaka, as Keith seems to think, but Antyānuprāsa (see *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, x. 6); but its regular use, like that of refrain, chiefly in religious poems and Stotras, is late, and is probably due to the influence of Apabhraṃśa poetry.

448. *Op. cit.* p. 27; repeated in Chatterji-*Lang*. 125-26. The fact that none of the Padāvalīs is quoted in the Sanskrit anthologies proves nothing; it only shows that the anthology-makers did not think that these songs strictly followed the Sanskrit tradition.

dramatic presentation and preference for song and melodrama, must have reacted upon the stereotyped Sanskrit literature and influenced its spirit and form to such an extent as to produce irregular and apparently non-descript types, which approximated more distinctly to the vernacular tradition, but which, being meant for a more cultivated audience, possessed a highly stylised form. Jayadeva's *Gīta-govinda* appears to be a remarkable example of such a type, indicating, as it does, an attempt to renew and remodel older forms of composition by absorbing the newer characteristics of vernacular language and literature. That this was not an isolated attempt but an expression of a widespread literary tendency is indicated by the existence of a small but significant body of literature which exhibits similar peculiarities.⁴⁴⁹ In these cases, the vernacular literature, developing side by side, reacted upon Sanskrit, as it was often reacted upon by Sanskrit; and the question of re-translation does not arise. It should also be noted that although the *Padāvalis* follow the spirit and manner of vernacular songs, yet they accept the literary tradition of Sanskrit in their highly ornamental and stylistic mode of expression. The profusion of verbal figures, like chiming and alliteration, which are not adventitious but form an integral part of its literary expression, is hardly possible in Prakrit or Apabhraṃśa which involves diphthongisation, compensatory lengthening or epenthetic intrusion of vowels, as well as elision of intervocalic consonants. It is scarcely believable that these verbal figures did not exist in the original but were added or re-composed in the presumed Sanskrit version. It is difficult, therefore, to admit that the *Gīta-govinda* was prepared in this factitious manner; and the theory of translation becomes unbelievable when one considers that Jayadeva's achievement lies more in the direction of its verbally finished form, which is inseparable from its poetic expression.

449. The editor of the *Gopāla-keli-candrikā* (of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Gujarat, ed. Caland), which contains *Padāvalis* of the same kind, rightly draws attention to its quasi-dramatic and choral peculiarities, and touches upon its similarity to the Swang of North-western India, as well as to the Yātrā. The *Pārijāta-haraṇa* (ed. Grierson in *JBORS*. III. 20-98) of Umāpati Upādhyāya, who probably preceded Vidyāpati, is written in Sanskrit but contains Maithili songs, which are not translated into Sanskrit. The *Mahānāṭaka* is another example of a so-called drama, which was undoubtedly influenced in form and spirit by popular literature; see S. K. De, *Problem of the Mahānāṭaka* (*IHQ*. 1931, pp. 553, 568-69), where this question is discussed.

STUDIES IN BENGAL VAISNAVISM

S. K. DE

A NOTE ON KṚṢṆADĀSA KAVIRĀJA'S CAITANYA-CARITĀMṚTA

It is somewhat strange that the date of composition of this important biography of Caitanya has not yet been settled, for there appears to exist a great deal of difference of opinion on this subject. Dinesh Chandra Sen in his two works on Bengali Language and Literature¹ gives 1615 A.D. as the date of 'composition of the work. But in one place he states that the work was completed after seven years' labour, in another, after nine years' labour. On the other hand, Jagadbandhu Bhadra, in the introduction to his *Gaura-pada-taraṅgiṇī*, states that the work was completed in 1503 Śaka (=1581 A.D.). This latter opinion appears to have been accepted by Satish Chandra Ray in the introduction to his edition of the *Pada-kalpataru*,² as well as by Dinesh Chandra Sen again in his *Caitanya and His Age*³ and in his *Vaiṣṇava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal*.⁴ It appears, however, that the former date is probably the correct one. In some manuscripts of the work a *śloka* is found after the colophon which appears to give an indication of the date of its composition. This verse, however, is not found in all manuscripts, and the printed texts (e.g. Kālnā edition) sometimes omit it. The verse is also missing in some of the Dacca University manuscripts which I have examined.⁵ As it occurs in most of the manuscripts, which contain it, after the colophon, it is probably a scribal addition which

1. *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 487 ; and *Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya*, Calcutta, 1334 B. S., p. 319.

2. Pt. V, p. 51.

3. Calcutta, 1922, p. 77.

4. Calcutta, 1917, p. 63.

5. See note at the end of Gaudīya Mādhva Maṭha edition, which mentions this fact of omission.

was naturally omitted in some of the manuscripts. The authenticity of the verse is therefore not beyond question, but probably it records the traditional date. The verse in most manuscripts runs thus :

*śāke sindhvagni-bāṇendau jyaiṣṭhe vṛndāvanāntare /
sūryāhe sita-saptamyāṁ grantho'yaṁ pūrṇatām gataḥ / /*

This would give us the date Śaka 1537 (=1615 A.D.). But another reading *śāke'-gni-bindu-bāṇendau* is also found in other manuscripts of the text, and this would give us the date Śaka 1503 (=1581 A.D.). These two readings, unfortunately, make a difference of 34 years and have probably led to the divergence of opinion regarding the date of the work mentioned above. It seems, however, that the date 1615 A.D. given by the tradition recorded by the first reading of the verse given above is the more probable one. From internal evidence, it appears that the latest work cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* is Jīva Gosvāmin's *Gopāla-Campū* which is expressly dated as having been completed in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.).⁶ Kṛṣṇadāsa could not therefore have completed his work in 1581, and the only other date given by tradition being 1615 A.D., it has to be accepted in view of this citation of Jīva Gosvāmin's work. The fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa's work explicitly acknowledges its indebtedness to Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, while it is in its own turn not mentioned in the list of previous biographies of Caitanya given by Jayānanda and Locanadāsa, would go to support the conclusion that it is one of the latest biographies of Caitanya in Bengali.

Dinesh Chandra Sen gives⁷ a short list of works cited in the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, but this list he compiles practically from a similar list given in Jagadbandhu Bhadra's work. It must, however, be pointed out that these and such other lists, which are compiled generally from the printed editions of the text, are often misleading ; for the printed editions do not often distinguish between works which are actually cited by name by the author and those from which anonymous quotations are given ; and the editors themselves often supply as headings to such quotations the names, by chapter and verse, of the works which the manuscripts of the text very often quote anonymously. As a notable instance, we may refer to verses 5-12 which open Kṛṣṇadāsa's work. These verses are printed in some editions (e.g. the Vaṅgavāsī edition, the Gauḍīya Mādhva Maṭha edition etc.) as quotations from Svarūpa Dāmodara, with the superscription *svārūpa-gosvāmi-kaḍacāyām*, although in the Kālnā edition this indication is omitted. The manuscripts of the text which we have consulted in the Dacca University collection and elsewhere do not support this attribution to Svarūpa Dāmodara, and no such superscription as given above is found in the manuscripts. This appears therefore to be a piece of unjustifiable "padding" by zealous editors, of which instances are not infrequent in the

6. The first part bears the date Śaka 1510 (=1588 A.D.) ; the second part is dated in Śaka 1514 (=1592 A.D.).

7. *Baṅga Bhāṣā O Sāhitya*, p. 320 ; *History of Bengali Language and Literature*, pp. 481-82 footnote.

printed editions. We give below a full list of the works and authors actually cited by name, as well as those cited or referred to anonymously, prepared from one of the dated manuscripts of the work existing in the Dacca University Library (No. 207, dated Śaka 1672).⁸

The following works and authors are actually mentioned by name in the text itself :

Aṣṭādaśa līlā-chandas by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 39), *Āgama* (Ādi. ii, 20 ; iii, 83 ; Madhya. ix, 42) or *Āgama-śāstra* (Antya. xix, 25), *Ujjvala-nīlamanī* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 38), *Upaniṣad* (Ādi. ii, 12, 24 ; vii, 108 etc.), *Upa-purāṇa* (Ādi. iii, 81), *Karṇāmṛta* or *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* (Madhya. i, 120 ; ii, 77 ; ix, 305-9 ; Antya. xv, 27), *Kalāpa* (Ādi. xvi, 32), *Kāvya-prakāśa* (Antya. xiii, 111), *Kūrma-purāṇa* (Madhya. i, 117 ; ix, 201), *Kṛṣṇa-vijaya* by Guṇarāja Khān (Madhya. xv, 99), *Korān* (Ādi. xvii, 155 ; Madhya. xx, 5), *Gīta-govinda* (Madhya. ii, 77 ; x, 115 ; Antya. xiii, 79 ; xv, 27, 83 ; xvii, 6, 62), *Gītā* or *Gītā-śāstra* (Ādi. iii, 21 ; v, 88, 89 ; vi, 27 ; vii, 117 etc.), *Gopāla-campū* by Jīva (Madhya. i, 44 ; Antya. iv, 230), *Govinda-birudāvalī* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 40), *Caṇḍīdāsa* (Ādi. xiii, 42 ; Madhya. ii, 77 ; x, 115 ; Antya. xvii, 6), *Caitanya-maṅgala* by Vṛndāvana-Dāsa (Ādi. viii, 33-38, 44, 63 ; xi, 54 ; xv, 7, 33 : xvii, 138, 330 ; Madhya. i, 11 etc.), *Caitanya-stava-kalpa-vṛkṣa* by Raghunātha-Dāsa (Antya. vi 326 ; xiv, 72, 119 ; xvi, 86 ; xvii, 70 ; xix, 75), *Jyotiṣa* (Ādi. xvii, 103), *Daśama-carita* by Sanātana (Madhya. i, 35), *Daśama-ṭippanī* (Madhya. i, 35), *Dānakeli-kaumudī* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 39 ; Antya. iv, 226), *Nāṭaka-varṇana* by Rūpa [= *Nāṭaka-candrikā*] (Madhya. i, 40), *Nigama-purāṇa* (Madhya. xx, 393), *Nyāya* (Madhya. xxv, 50), *Pañjū-ṭikā* (Ādi. xv, 6 ; Antya. xiv, 10), *Padyāvalī* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 39), *Pātāñjala* (Madhya. ix, 42 ; xxv, 51), *Purāṇa* (Ādi. iii, 38, 83 etc.), *Bṛhat-sahasra-nāma* (Ādi. xvii, 90), *Brahma-saṃhitā* (Madhya. i, 120 ; ix, 237, 239, 309, 323), *Brahma-sūtra* (Madhya. xxv, 98), *Bhāgavata* (many references), *Bhāgavatāmṛta* by Sanātana (Madhya. i, 35), *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* (Ādi. iii, 79 ; Madhya. i, 43. Antya. iv. 229), *Bhārata* or *Bhārata-śāstra* [= *Mahābhārata*] (Madhya. vi, 97 ; Ādi. iii, 83), *Bhramara-gītā* (Madhya. xxiii, 56 ; Antya. xix, 107), *Mathurā-māhātmya* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 40 ; xxv, 208), *Yoga-śāstra* (Ādi. ii, 18), *Rasāmṛta-sindhu* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 38 ; xix, 133 ; iv, 223), *Rāyer Nāṭaka-gīti* [= *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka*] by Rāmānanda Rāya (Madhya. ii, 77), *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 41), *Lalita-mādhava* by Rūpa (Madhya. i, 38 ; Antya. iv, 225), *Vidyāpati* (Ādi. xiii, 42 ; Madhya. ii, 77 ; x, 115 ; Antya. xv, 27 ; xvii, 6, 61), *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* (Ādi. vii, 117), *Vyāsa-sūtra* (Madhya. vi, 133, 138 ; xxv, 43, 89 ; also see *Brahma-sūtra*), *Śārīraka-bhāṣya* (Antya. ii, 95), *Śikṣāṣṭaka* (Antya. xx, 138, 139), *Saṭsandarbha* (Antya. iv, 231), *Sāṃkhya* (Madhya. ix, 42 ; xxv, 49), *Siddhārtha-saṃhitā* (Madhya. xx, 223), *Stavāvalī* or *Stavamālā* (Madhya. i, 39), *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* (Madhya. xx, 237), *Hari-vaṃśa* (Madhya. xxiii, 110), *Haribhakti-vilāsa* by Sanātana (Madhya. i, 35).

8. In preparing this list Mr. Subodh Chandra Banerjee of the Dacca University Manuscript Library very materially assisted me and I take this opportunity of thanking him for his help.

In addition to some of the works mentioned above, quotations are given in our MS with the actual citation of the following works and authors by name : *Gopī-premāmṛta*, *Gautamīya* (Tantra ?), *Caitanya-carita* [= *candrodaya*] *nāṭaka*, Jayadeva, Tantra, *Nārada-pañcarātra* (or only *Pañcarātra*), *Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa*, *Padma-purāṇa* (also *Padmottara-khaṇḍa*), Brahman (taduktam brahmaṇā) *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, Bharatamuni, *Bhāgavata* (referred to also by Skandhas, e.g. *daśame*, *dvitiye* etc.), Bhāṣya, Mamaiva ślokāḥ *Rāmānanda-kṛta Gīta*, *Viśva* or *Viśvaparakāśa Śāstra*, *Śāstrajñā*, Śrīdhara-svāmin, *Śrīmukha-Śikṣā-śloka*, *Śrī-yamunācārya-stotra*, Śrī-rūpa Gosvāmin, (also *tatkṛta saptama-skandha-vivecana*), *Śrī-sahasra-nāmastotra*, Śruti (also general references as *Veda* and *Vedānta*), *Sāmudraka*, *Siddhānta-tattva-bheda*, *Sindhu* (= *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*), *Stuti-śloka*, *Smṛti*, *Haribhakti-sudhodaya*.

Anonymous quotations appear to be given from the following works in addition to most of those mentioned above :

Abhijñāna-śakuntala, *Amara-koṣa*, *Ādi-purāṇa*, *Uttara-rāma-carita*, *Ekādaśī-tattva* (*Ādi*. ii, 74), *Garuḍa-purāṇa*, *Govinda-līlāmṛta* (Kṛṣṇadāsa's own work), Jīva's *Tattva-sandarbha*, Lakṣmīdhara's *Bhagavan-nāma-kaumudī*, Naiṣadhīya, Pāṇini, *Bhāvārtha-dīpikā* of Śrīdharasvāmin, Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, *Raghuvamśa*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* (*Antya*. i, 186), *Skanda-purāṇa*.

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CAITANYA AS AN AUTHOR

It has never been critically discussed whether Caitanya, with whose name the form of Vaiṣṇavism prevalent in Bengal is associated, ever wrote any religious or speculative works as did the founders of other Vaiṣṇava Sampradāyas. The pious imagination of his followers naturally love to invest him with the highest academic glory and scholastic eminence. One at least of his early biographers, himself a highly trained scholastic theologian, puts in Caitanya's mouth long philosophical discourses, marvels of exegesis and elaborate sectarian theologising, even though this picture of Caitanya as a Sāstric Paṇḍit is not consistent with the general impression given of him in the biography itself as a devotee of great emotional capacity, surrendering himself more and more to rapturous abandonment. Even when a mere boy Caitanya is said to have possessed extraordinary

precocity of intellect, and some of his learned biographers make out that he was a youthful prodigy, mastering all branches of learning at the age of fifteen. At the same time we are told that his fond parents were at first averse to sending the boy Caitanya to school for fear that learning would lead him, as it led his elder brother Viśvarūpa, to asceticism, and he was allowed to grow wild at will. Later on he was sent to one Viṣṇu Paṇḍita and Sudarśana for elementary education, and then to Gaṅgādāsa, who was chiefly a grammarian, for more advanced studies. It is probable that Caitanya displayed in his younger days a keenness and intelligence much above the average. He does not, however, appear to have cared much for deep or wide scholarship, and it is really not necessary to present him as a great scholar when his real greatness lies in other directions. His education was probably that of a well-born Brāhmaṇa boy at such a centre of learning as Navadvīpa, but his studies appear to have been chiefly confined to Sanskrit Grammar, especially Kalāpa Grammar,¹ and probably to some literature and rhetoric² to which allusion is made. Although Navadvīpa was, and still is, famous for its teaching of New Logic (Navya Nyāya), there is however no evidence to show that Viśvambhara (as Caitanya was then called) ever studied this subject. On the contrary, people noticing the keenness of his intellect, are said to have on one occasion wished that he had studied Nyāya and become a great Bhaṭṭācārya, which he was in their opinion sure to become.³

1. Vṛndāvana-dāsa tells us (*Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Ādi. vii) that Caitanya's teacher Gaṅgādāsa was proficient in Grammar (vyākaraṇ-śāstrer ekānta tattvavid), and Caitanya's knowledge and teaching of Grammar are more than once mentioned. Keśava Kāśmīrī, for instance, speaks contemptuously of his teaching of Grammar (śiśuśāstra vyākaraṇ paḍāy brāhmaṇ, *C-Bh.*, Ādi. xi : vyākaraṇ-madhye jāni paḍāo kalāp. *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Ādi. xvi, 32, 35) which Caitanya himself admits as a matter of pride (prabhu kahe vyākaraṇ paḍāi abhimān kari, *C-C.*, loc. cit). Reference to Kalāpa is also made by Jayānanda in his *Caitanya-maṅgala*.

2. Caitanya himself is reported to have admitted that he made no serious study of Rhetoric (nāhi paḍi alaṃkāra karechi śravaṇ, *C-C.*, Ādi. xvi, 52), but in his alleged disputation with Keśava Kāśmīrī he is made to rely chiefly on his stray knowledge of this subject.

3. keha bale e brāhmaṇ nyāya yadi paḍe ! bhaṭṭācārya hay tabe kakhana nā naḍe !! (*C-Bh.*, Ādi. xi). No reliance can be placed on the legend narrated in the *Advaita-prakāśa* that Caitanya wrote a commentary on Nyāya, but threw the work into the Ganges out of compassion towards a Brāhmaṇa who had written a similar work but who was afraid lest it should be eclipsed by the more learned commentary of Caitanya. The legend is obviously inspired by the pious tendency of glorifying Caitanya by imputing scholastic eminence to him. The *Advaita-prakāśa* the historicity of which work itself as well as the genuineness of the printed text is open to serious doubt, also speaks of a commentary on *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, but of this there is no mention elsewhere. The legend that Caitanya was a pupil of Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya need not be seriously considered.

Caitanya's dialectic exploits of the period, during which he became a householder and set up a school like most educated Brāhmaṇas of the time, are made much of in his two orthodox biographies, but the descriptions of his scholastic triumphs are obviously exaggerated, and even appear as puerile. He is said, for instance, to have vanquished in disputation Keśava Bhaṭṭa Kāśmīrī, the well-known scholar and commentator of the Nimbārka sect. The account is given at some length in Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's biography. What really happens in Viśvambhara's so-called disputation with this formidable scholar, who was the author of learned commentaries of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Vedānta-sūtra* and other works, is somewhat strange. Viśvambhara requests Keśava to compose a hymn to the Ganges, on the banks of which they meet, and on Keśava's reciting *ex tempore* an astonishing series of verses on the subject, all that Viśvambhara does to silence him is to pick rhetorical and grammatical flaws of a rather fastidious kind in the verses cited.⁴ This is the whole extent of the learned disputation, and the account in its triviality is extremely disappointing. The disputation is omitted in other biographies of Caitanya. It is given for the first time by Vṛndāvana-dāsa, from which source obviously Kṛṣṇadāsa elaborates it. In the same way Viśvambhara is represented elsewhere as picking grammatical flaws in Iśvara Purī's poem. No concealment however is made here of the fact that Viśvambhara was chiefly a teacher of grammar to young pupils, and possessed some stray knowledge perhaps of rhetoric. All that these Navadvīpa legends tend to indicate is that Caitanya's youthful and thoughtless mind was at this time filled with the scholastic spirit and pride of learning of his native place, and that the sprightliness of his boyhood had developed into the pedantic but harmless arrogance of a young Pandit. One might even suspect sectarian loyalty in the biographers in making a veteran champion of the rival Nimbārka school suffer defeat at the hands of the youthful Caitanya; but, apart from pious credulity, the episode is poorly presented and is hardly worthy of a really great scholar, such as Caitanya's biographers make him out to have been. Keśava

The Vaiṣṇava tradition delights to make a great academic figure out of Vāsudeva and assigns to him four distinguished pupils, viz. Raghunātha Śīromaṇi, the Naiyāyika; Raghunandana, the Smārta; Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa, the Tāntrika; and lastly, Caitanya. But Caitanya's pupilship, though plausible, appears to have no foundation in fact, for the accounts in his orthodox biographies do not mention this fact; on the contrary, they show that Caitanya's first meeting with Vāsudeva must have taken place at Puri, where the latter lived. Probably the venerable old scholar had already left Navadvīpa before Caitanya was old enough to be his pupil. In the accounts of Caitanya's early life no reference is made to Vāsudeva's teaching Caitanya, whose attitude at Puri was hardly that of a pupil towards his teacher. Vāsudeva appears to have been more of a Vedāntist than a Naiyāyika, and this is confirmed by his known commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*.

4. For a good analysis of the academic aspect of this episode, see *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, December 1933, pp. 91-99, in which the writer of the article expresses his conclusion that "the entire episode looks very suspicious."

of Kashmir was the son of Śrīmaṅgala, śiṣya of Mukunda and *pra-śiṣya* of Sundara Bhaṭṭa, as he himself tells us in his various Sanskrit works. He was the author of learned commentaries on the *Brahmopaniṣad*, the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (Sk. X) and other works ; but the most well-known work for his school was his *Prabhā* commentary on Śrīnivāsa's *Kaustubha* commentary on Nimbārka's *Vedānta-pārijāta*.⁵ The meeting with Caitanya, as a matter of fact, is not unlikely, for Keśava lived in the latter part of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century ; but there can be no doubt that the account has been grotesquely exaggerated.

A study of the general trend of Caitanya's life will also make it clear that although he possessed great qualities of leadership and extraordinary powers over minds of men, he did hardly at any time of his career concern himself directly with the organisation of his followers. When he turned his face towards Puri immediately after his Sannyāsa at the early age of twenty-four and made his permanent residence there, he practically lost all direct touch with the active propagation of his faith in Bengal ; and this was probably one of the reasons why the sect never achieved any real solidarity in its later history. Although a close connexion was kept up between him and his followers in Bengal, his departure must have been a great loss to a cause which had hardly had time yet to establish itself firmly. The later disruption of the sect, the organisation of which was left chiefly in the hands of Nityānanda, who appears to have possessed other views than Caitanya, was partly due to the lack of direct contact with the Master, whose personality was not only the strongest asset of the community but also the only powerful influence which could unify and organise it into a compact body. While the movement in Bengal fell into disorder after his death, the influence of his personal presence for long years at Puri has continued to make Orissa a stronghold of the Vaiṣṇava faith up to the present day.

Absorbed in his devotional ecstasies Caitanya does not appear to have ever sought to build up a cult or a sect. If such a cult or sect gathered itself round him, it was due chiefly to the influence of his personality and the powerful appeal of his evident devotion. The enthusiasm of some of his more practical or more scholastically inclined disciples would feign see in him a great organiser and expounder of a system of theology, but neither propagating zeal nor theological ambition ever appears to have entered his simple life of intense religious emotional realisation. If some notable conversions were achieved, they were not the result of any direct missionary effort on his part, but, as the orthodox records themselves reveal, they were due to the powerful impression he could create on receptive minds by his outstanding religious personality. Even admitting that he could employ philosophy or theology as a weapon in argument, it was yet his vivid sense of spiritual truth which could cast a mystic spell and call forth a deep and lasting response. This wonderful spiritual influence could enthrall men of great capacity and inspire them with a lifelong zeal for sectarian pioneering, laborious scholarship and devotional austerity ;

5. Ed. in the *Pandit*, viii, ix ; also ed. by Nityasvarūpa Brahmācārī, Vṛndāvana 1906.

but to attribute this achievement to any conscious effort or purpose is to misread the whole trend of his life.

The later development of the sect and the cult, therefore, is chiefly the work of his disciples and associates. At the same time, one must guard against the error of supposing that the cult and the sect were entirely created by his followers to whom Caitanya was a mere figurehead or a willing instrument. Caitanya's personal relation to his leading disciples, as borne out by the orthodox records, clearly demonstrates that on the main lines of its growth and expansion the movement was directly inspired by the example of his life and experience, even if he did not actually persevere at the task. If he possessed the capacity, he never had in his emotional absorption either the time or the willingness to found a sect or a system ; but from the very beginning the movement bore the impress of his personality and developed on the lines of his spiritual experiences, which formed its greatest and most powerful asset. This was the driving force by which the movement organised and propagated itself during his life-time, and which inspired his leading disciples to organise and propagate it after his passing away. As such this was his highest contribution, to the sect and the cult. The standard of Vaiṣṇava life and devotion set up by his own life, the new spirit of emotionalism which he imparted to traditional piety, the widespread emotional appeal of the new mode of Saṅkīrtana which he developed, the sincerity and contagious passion of his realisation of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult, the expansive and liberating power of his catholic and simple ideas of worship, his devotional fancies about the Vṛndāvana settlement, his winning over of scholars and devotees who were to be the future organisers of the sect both on its practical and doctrinal sides and his inspiring them with a selfless love for the task,—in one word, his great religious life and personality clearly gave an initial direction and an impetus to the movement, which gradually organised itself in the hands of his followers into a definite sect and cult.

If Caitanya did not concern himself actively in the work of organising his followers, which was left mostly in the hands of Advaita and Nityānanda, still less did he take upon himself the work of a thinker or writer. However much intellectual pride he is reported to have possessed in his youth, he gave up his scholastic pursuits after his return from Gaya. A man of his great emotional capacity was hardly ever fit for serious or sustained intellectual effort, for which he never showed any particular bent, and which became more and more impossible as years went on. To a man of his temperament spiritual realisation was hardly a matter of speculative discussion. In spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight to depict Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precision a whole theological system and invest him with the omniscience of a Śāstric Paṇḍit,⁶ they also indicate that in his ecstatic absorption he was careless of mere Śāstric knowledge. The theology that is placed in his mouth is clearly the theology of a later day, in which these biographers themselves were severely trained. It must not also be forgotten that the significance of Caitanya's teaching, like the teaching of all great teachers,

6. In one place for instance Caitanya is represented as explaining a text in 61 different ways.

lies not so much in his special interpretation of this or that text, but in the reality and force of his inner spiritual experience, which gave him an extraordinary power over the minds of men. The whole trend indeed of Caitanya's life was against his being an exact scholar or thinker. When Caitanya closed his school after his return from Gaya he is reported to have shut up his books and said to his pupils that for him lessons were finished from that day. The words became almost literally prophetic, for in after-years he hardly ever read or wrote anything. The scholarly pursuits of a Paṇḍit, the pride of learning or the zest for dialectic disputations—all passed out of his life, which now began to move in an entirely different atmosphere. Outside the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the newly discovered *Brahma-saṃhitā* and the devotional lyrics of Bilvamaṅgala, Jayadeva, Vidyāpati or Caṇḍīdāsa he appears to have read next to nothing. It is misdirected zeal which invests him with the false glory of scholastic eminence ; his true greatness lies in other directions, and his power over men came from other sources.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Caitanya wrote nothing with the exception of eight Sanskrit verses, which are given as the *Śikṣāṣṭaka*, and which are nothing more than expressions of his simple and passionate faith. All these eight verses are to be found under his name (cited as *Śrī-bhagavataḥ*) in the *Padyāvalī* compiled by Rūpa Gosvāmin, who was an immediate disciple of Caitanya. Kavikarṇapūra in his *Caitanya-candrodaya* appears to negative the idea that Caitanya ever wrote anything about his doctrines. Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* distinctly states that Caitanya never composed any work, but he meets the objection of those who maintain the impossibility of propagating any devotional doctrine without such means by saying that even if Caitanya wrote nothing he transferred his own energy into his disciples like Rūpa and inspired them to reveal the doctrines.⁷ The attribution to him, therefore, of any specific work or specific doctrine is more a matter of pious belief than a positive historical fact. It is indeed difficult to say how much of the elaborate theologising which is piously put in his mouth was actually uttered by him, for these reported utterances of his are in fact faithful summaries of the highly scholastic works of the six Vṛndāvana Gosvāmins themselves, who as leisured recluses could devote their keen and highly trained minds to the construction of elaborate systems of speculation. It is not clear, therefore, how far these tenets of a later time actually represent Caitanya's views. No doubt Caitanya is represented by Kṛṣṇadāsa as commissioning Sanātana and Rūpa Gosvāmins to prepare these learned texts as the doctrinal foundations of the faith and suggesting to them elaborate outlines and schemes ; but these outlines and schemes are so suspiciously faithful to the actual and much later products of the Gosvāmins

7. *Nanu granthādi-racanām vinā līlādi-vistāraṇam na syāt, granthādiḥ ko'pi na kṛtaḥ śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaena katham tad-vastu-prathanam iti vācyaṃ/bhāgavatā sākṣād grantha-karaṇābhāvād hr̥dā brahmaṇi brahma-prakāśitavac śrī-rūpādiṣu sveṣu hr̥di śaktiṃ sañcārya tat-tad-dvāreṇa sarvaṃ prakāśitam iti //*

themselves that this fact takes away whatever truth there might have been in the representation. That some such relation actually existed between the Master and his learned disciples is highly probable, but excessive zeal has represented it in a distorted perspective. It is also remarkable that while these Gosvāmins themselves make a general acknowledgment of the inspiration derived from Caitanya and his life, there is nowhere any acknowledgment of direct instruction or outlining of schemes to them by Caitanya.⁸ The actual personal contact of Rūpa and Sanātana with the Master was indeed very brief, while there is no evidence to show that Jīva, their nephew, ever had this good fortune. It is hard to believe that within the period of a few months at the most, they could have been instructed by Caitanya, as alleged, in the whole range and depth of the Bhakti-śāstra and in every such detail of theological doctrines as they set it forth in their elaborate and voluminous works which undoubtedly betray the learning of a life-time. It is certainly true that Caitanya inspired these men of great talent with a life-long zeal for the task, which made them scorn delight and live laborious days; he might have also suggested to them his own ideas of devotion born out of his own religious experience; and above all, his life itself must have furnished them a vivid text to enlarge and comment upon. But to hold Caitanya responsible for every fine point of dogma and doctrine elaborated by Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva would indicate an undoubtedly pious but entirely unhistorical imagination.

It is worth remarking in this connexion that although Bengal Vaiṣṇavism presents itself as a deliberate historical religion promulgated by a definite founder, yet in the

8. Sanātana Gosvāmin, for instance, in the 11th verse of his *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* states :

bhagavadbhaktiśāstrāṇāmayaṁ sārasya saṁgrahaḥ /
anubhūtasya caitanyadeve tatpriyarūpataḥ / /

The word *anubhūtasya* here is significant. Sanātana does not anywhere say that he actually received any direct instruction in these matters, but that he is compiling what he *felt* about the character of Bhakti in Caitanya himself. At the end of the *Digdarśanī* commentary on the same work he says again :

svayaṁ pravartitaiḥ kṛtsnairmamaitallikhanaśramah /
śrīmaccaitanyarūpo'sau bhagavān priyatāṁ sadā / /

which speaks indeed of inspiration received from Caitanya, but not of direct instruction by him. Rūpa similarly speaks of inspiration derived from Caitanya (*hr̥di yasya preraṇayā pravartito'haṁ varāka-rūpo'pi*) ; but there is nowhere in the works of the six Gosvāmins any acknowledgement of direct instruction by Caitanya, as alleged by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Had it been a fact, it is improbable that they would have been silent about it. Nor is the fact mentioned in any other biography of Caitanya. The *Bhakti-ratnākara* informs us that Rūpa and Sanātana were already advanced in years and well trained in Śāstric knowledge, as well as predisposed to Vaiṣṇavism, when Caitanya met them; this must have been one of the reasons why Caitanya selected them for the special task of systematising the theology of the sect.

practical working out of the system the direct intuitive realisation or teachings of the founder do not expressly find a place. Except the usual obeisance and homage to Caitanya and general passages testifying to his identity with the supreme deity, there is nowhere in the extensive works of the three early authoritative Gosvāmins (Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva) any direct reference to his personal views and teachings. These theologians and philosophers are chiefly concerned with the godhead of Kṛṣṇa and his Līlā as revealed in the older scriptures ; and Kṛṣṇa in their theory is not an Avatāra but the supreme deity himself. They are almost entirely silent about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme, and it is somewhat strange that in presenting a system in Caitanya's name they rely exclusively upon older sources and do not refer at all to his direct realisation of spiritual truths. The divinity of Kṛṣṇa as the exclusive object of worship is elaborately established, but the divinity of Caitanya, which is implicitly acknowledged in the Namaskriyās and miscellaneous devotional verses, is hardly ever discussed. It is said in the later Bengali biographies of Caitanya that these works themselves were not only inspired but were directly communicated to these disciples by Caitanya himself. It may have been so, but there is no direct acknowledgment of this fact by the Gosvāmins themselves ; and what appears to have been communicated (if we take the texts themselves as evidence) is not his own Anubhava but elaborate scholastic systems based on and developed from inherited Vaiṣṇava tradition. Nor is there any devotional interpretation of the personality of Caitanya and Caitanya-līlā as there is of the personality of Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa-līlā. There can be no doubt that the devout life of Caitanya inspired these faithful disciples, but in the actual building up of their systems of philosophy and theology, there is no reference to the life, personality or views of the Master himself. There is, on the other hand, an entire dependence on a complicated system of interpretation of older sacred texts, rather than upon any direct and vivid spiritual illumination. In these works of the Gosvāmins we reach indeed a high level of the emotional doctrine of Bhakti in the setting of a vital system of religious beliefs, and the life and personality of Caitanya must have been a powerful exemplification of these beliefs and doctrines, but we still move in an indefinite haze of mythology, sentiment and speculation derived from the Purāṇic tradition ; while the intellectual seriousness or the ethical nobility of the tenets is hardly propounded with the force of direct realisation, inasmuch as they are completely merged in a floating mass of uncertain myths, legends and traditional beliefs. In all probability Caitanya himself never claimed any divine honours, but the piety of his devout followers exalted him as such, making him an incarnation not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā. It is, however, remarkable that this doctrine of single or double incarnation is nowhere discussed by the six authoritative Gosvāmins. Nor do they anywhere recognise or inculcate as a creed the worship of Caitanya or his image, although this became a notable feature of the later development of the faith.

Whatever might have been the case, the fact remains that Caitanya never thought it necessary to emulate the founders of other Vaiṣṇava Sampradāyas in the writing of

religious or speculative works himself, nor did he care much about himself putting together what he taught and practised. The only work that can be ascribed to him with certainty consists of the eight verses which are attributed to him in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (Nos. 22, 31, 32, 71, 93, 94, 324, 337). The eight verses which are assigned here are also represented by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in the last chapter of his biography as having been uttered and explained by Caitanya himself, and they are named *Śikṣāṣṭaka* (C-C, Antya, xx, 64-65). Kṛṣṇadāsa states :

Pūrve aṣṭa śloka kari loke śikṣā dilā /
seba aṣṭa śloka āpane āsvādilā / /

Caitanya is made to recite and explain these verses to Svarūpa and Rāmānanda at Puri ; but the word *pūrve* in the statement quoted above perhaps suggests that the verses were probably composed by him long before this. This supposition would explain the somewhat curious fact that the *Padyāvalī*,⁹ unlike most other works of Rūpa Gosvāmin, does not contain any Namaskriyā to Caitanya but that it still contains these verses assigned to Śrī-Bhagavat. It is probable that this anthology was an early compilation, which Rūpa Gosvāmin might have completed before he left Rāmakeli to become a professed follower of Caitanya. If this surmise is correct, then it is likely that these verses, which Caitanya probably composed in his younger days at Navadvīpa, were naturally included by Rūpa in his collection of Vaiṣṇava verses. The honorific epithet Śrī-Bhagavat is not inconsistent with the conjecture ; for the glorification, or even deification, of Caitanya must have already begun at Navadvīpa and created the mass of miraculous Navadvīpa legends which Vṛndāvana-dāsa collects in his biography. We are also told by the *Bhakti-ratnākara* that Rūpa was already predisposed towards Vaiṣṇavism and Caitanya before he became an actual convert to Caitanyaism, and that he was even at this early period already in touch with Navadvīpa. If this surmise about the inclusion of Caitanya's verses in an anthology which, even though compiled by one of his closest disciples, contains no Namaskriyā to him, be not acceptable, then one must presume that these verses were added at a subsequent revision of the work. This alternative presumption, however, is open to the objection that if we presume subsequent revision and addition, it is inexplicable why a Namaskriyā to Caitanya could not also have been similarly added when the work was revised. Whatever might be the explanation, there is, however, nothing which could throw doubt on the genuineness of these verses, with the exception of the second verse given below, which is found assigned to one Madhusūdana in the *Subhāṣitāvalī* of Vallabhadeva. But this ascription of the *Subhāṣitā-*

9. A critical edition of this work by the present writer, based on 16 manuscripts, is being printed and will be published shortly in the Dacca University Oriental Publications Series. The numbering of the verse as well as attribution are cited here as they are in this edition. The verses are given almost in the same order as above in Kṛṣṇadāsa's work. These verses are found in all Mss of the *Padyāvalī* and are uniformly assigned to Caitanya.

vali is undoubtedly overridden by the testimony of Rūpa Gosvāmin whom we can certainly take as a better authority on this point. These eight verses by Caitanya are in the order in which they are given in the *Padyāvali*.

cetodarpaṇamārjanaṁ bhavamahādāvāgninirvāpaṇam
śreyah kairavacandrikāvitaraṇam vidyāvadhūjīvanam !
ānandāmbudhivardhanaṁ pratipadam pūrṇāmṛtāsvādanam
sarvātmasnapanam param vijayate śrīkṛṣṇasaṅkīrtanam !! 1

nāmnāmakāri bahudhā nijasarvaśaktiḥ
tatārpitā niyamitaḥ smaraṇe na kālah !
etādṛśī tava kṛpā bhagavanmamāpi
durdaivamīdṛśamihājani nānurāgaḥ !! 2
tṛṇādapi sunīcena tarorapi sahiṣṇunā !
amāninā mānadena kīrtanīyaḥ sadā hariḥ !! 3

ayi nandatanūja kiṅkaram
patitam mām viṣame bhavāmbudhau !
kṛpayā tava pādapaṅkaja-
sthitadhūlisadṛśam vibhāvaya !! 4
nayanam galadambudhārayā
vadanam gadgadaruddhayā girā !
pulkairnicitam vapuḥ kadā
tava nāmagrahaṇe bhaviṣyati !! 5
na dhanam na janam na sundarīm
kavitām vā jagadīśa kāmaya !
mama janmani janmanīśvare
bhavatāt bhaktirahaitukī tvayi !! 6
yugāyitam nimeṣeṇa cakṣuṣā prāvṛṣāyitam !
śūnyāyitam jagatyāpi govindaviraheṇa me !! 7
āśliṣya vā pādaratām pinaṣṭu mām
adarśanānmarmahatām karotu vā !
yathātathā vā vidadhātu lampāṭo
matprāṇanāthastu sa eva nāparaḥ !! 8

These verses are expressions of devotion simply. Their earnestness and depth of feeling cannot be mistaken, and it is not necessary to read any abstruse theological meaning into them. Apart from such theological bias, one can very well take them as the utterances of a god-intoxicated devotee surrendering his all and pining for his deity Kṛṣṇa. If in the last verse cited above, the devotee imagines himself as Rādhā longing for her beloved, it need not be taken as supporting the special theological creed that Kṛṣṇa incarnated himself in Caitanya both as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā ; for one of the essential modes of devotional realisation of this sect, as practised by Caitanya, consists of the practice of Rāgānugā Bhakti, an emotional state in which the devotee imagines himself as one of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa.

In the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa, Caitanya is made to recite some other Sanskrit verses, but it is not clear if they were actually composed by him, e.g. Ādi. xvi, 82 :

ambujamambuni jātam kvacidapi na jātamambujādambu !
murabhidi tu viparītaṃ pādāmbhojānmahānadī jātā !!

Also Madhya. i, 211 (which Caitanya is stated to have spoken to instruct Rūpa) but the verse actually occurs in *Pañcadaśī* ix, 84 :

paravyasaninī nārī vyagrāpi gṛhakarmani !
tamevāsvādayatyantarnavasāṅgarasāyanam !!

Another passage of a more sententious character is said to have been uttered by Caitanya (Antya. vi, 285) ; it exposes and censures the improper expectations which a begging ascetic often entertains with regard to the alms he gets in his wanderings :

ayamāgacchatyayam dāsyatyanena dattamayamaparah !
sametyayam dāsyatyanenāpi na dattamanyah sameṣyati sa dāsyati !!

Also, Madhya. ii. 45 :

na premagandho'sti daro'pi me harau
krandāmi saubhāgyabharam prakāśitum !
vaṃśivilāsyānanalokanam vinā
vibharmi yat prāṇapataṅgakān vṛthā !!

Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Bhakti-sandarbha*, p. 477, cites the verse No. 39 of the *Padyāvalī*¹⁰ as being composed by the Bhagavat (*kali-yuga-pāvanāvatāreṇa śrī-bhagavatā*) who sanctified the Kali-Yuga by his descent, a description which Jīva Gosvāmin also applies to the case of No. 32 (*trṇādapi sunīcena*, cited above) which verse occurs in the *Śikṣāṣṭaka* ascribed to Caitanya as well as in this Anthology as Caitanya's. The *Caitanya-bhāgavata* puts the following half-verse in the mouth of Caitanya :

prāsādāgre nivasati puraḥ smeravaktrāravindo
māmālokyā smitasuvadano bālagopālamūrtiḥ !!

A Sanskrit work called *Gopāla-caritra* (Mitra, *Notices*. iii, No. 1118) or *Rādhā- or Gopī-premāmṛta* (Mitra, *Notices*. ii, No. 736), written in the form of Sanskrit Campū with prose and verse, passes current as a work by Caitanya. It has been printed at the Radharaman Press, Berhampore and published at Murshidabad, 1335 B.S.=1928 A.D. ; but it is curious that the name of the author in the printed edition is given as Mohinī Mohana Lāhiḍī Vidyālaṃkāra of the village Malaṅgā. Three of its verses (Naukā-khaṇḍa, Nos. 12, 18, 19, pp. 33 and 36), however, are quoted in the *Padyāvalī* as Nos. 275, 273 and 274 ; but two of these (Nos. 274 and 275) are assigned by all our sixteen MSS of the *Padyāvalī* to Manohara (Manoraka, DA) and the remaining one (No. 273) is given anonymously as *kasyacit*, although one of our MSS (PB) would assign even this verse to

10. śrutamapyaupaniṣadam dūre harikathāmṛtāt /
yatra santi dravaccittakampāśrupulakodgamāḥ //

Rūpa Gosvāmin in his anthology ascribes this verse to *Śrī-bhagavad-vyāsa-pādāḥ*.

Manohara. On this, as well as on other grounds the attribution of the *Gopāla-caritra* or *Premāmṛta* to Caitanya is unjustifiable.

A commentary on Bilvamaṅgala's *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* is ascribed to Caitanya-deva in R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report 1884-87*, Bombay, 1894), p. 48, No. 326; but this is apparently a mistake for Caitanya-dāsa, who wrote a commentary, entitled *Subodhinī* on Bilvamaṅgala's poem. This Caitanya-dāsa appears to have been one of the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana at whose command Kṛṣṇadāsa wrote his Bengali biography of Caitanya.¹¹ He is said to have been a disciple of Bhūgarbha Gosvāmin and worshipper of the Gopāla-image at Vṛndāvana; sometimes he is identified with Caitanyadāsa-sena, son of Śivānanda-sena and brother of Paramānandadāsa-sena, Kavi-karṇapūra. The commentary has been printed, but a good manuscript of the work exists in the Dacca University Manuscripts Library. In the concluding verse¹² there is a reference to Caitanya-dāsa's being a Govinda-pūjaka. It is a brief but good commentary which has been appropriated very largely by Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja in his own commentary (*Sāraṅga-raṅgadā*) on Bilvamaṅgala's Stotra.

Various short collections of verses of the Stotra type are often found ascribed to Caitanya, but none of them appears to be genuine. They are either the work of Caitanya-dāsa referred to above or some less known Caitanya Gosvāmin or of even some anonymous scribblers, over the performance of which no sane criticism will ever be enthusiastic. But they are all piously attributed to Caitanya, after the old manner of lumping all anonyma upon a single author or personage of traditional repute. At any rate, if by any chance any of them prove to be genuine works of Caitanya, they would hardly redound to his credit. We have, for instance, in the Dacca University Manuscript collection a series of 35 eulogistic Kṛṣṇaite verses in Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre entitled *Premāmṛta-rasāyana*. One of the manuscripts (MS No. 2542 of the work ascribes it in the colophon to Caitanya thus: *śrī-jagaj-jīvanānanda-śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya-candra-mukha-nirgataṃ premāmṛta-rasāyanam stotram*; but another manuscript of the same work (No. 3628) ascribes it in the colophon simply to Śrī-Caitanya Gosvāmin.¹³ Other works of the same type found in our manuscript collection are: *Yugala-parihāra-stotra* (8 verses) and *Śrī-rādhikāṣṭo-ttaraśata-nāma* (a fragment of 17 verses in Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre). Many other sectarian compositions of this kind will possibly be discovered in other collections, but it is not necessary to waste time over these poor productions which no amount of misdirected zeal will be able to glorify even by the strange device of associating them with the name of Caitanya.

A Bengali version by Kṛṣṇakīṅkara-Dāsa of the Sanskrit *Bhakti-bhāya-pradīpa* of Jayagopāla-Dāsa, disciple of Sundarānanda,¹⁴ a MS of which, existing in the Dacca

11. C-C, Ādi. viii, 69.

12. śrīgovindapadasevāprabhāvāduditā svayam /
īkā caitanyadāsasya kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛtāśrayā /

13. This may or may not be Caitanyadāsa Gosvāmin.

14. This Sundarānanda may or may not be the Sundarānanda who is referred to

University collection (No. 3065), appears to have been copied in Śaka 1630=1708 A.D., quotes, however, several verses (śl. 8b to 21a, as given below) from the *Premāmṛta-rasāyana* referred to above, and ascribes the work distinctly to Caitanya (*viśeṣataḥ premāmṛte śrī-caitanyaenoktam*, fol. 164b). This testimony of a late work need not be taken as conclusive, but it indicates the fact that by this time the *Premāmṛta-rasāyana*, rightly or wrongly, came to be attributed to Caitanya. There are, however, several ascriptions in this Bengali version of the *Bhakti-bhāva-pradīpa*, which are positively wrong, and which certainly throw doubt upon the accuracy of the attribution to Caitanya. For instance, on fol. 170b it ascribes a verse to Rūpa which is stated to occur in the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā*.¹⁵ Neither is the *Bhāgavata-sandarbhā* by Rūpa, nor does the cited verse occur in it. As the *Premāmṛta-rasāyana* Stotra, however, is short, consisting only of the 35 verses in Anuṣṭubh Sloka metre, we transcribe it in an Appendix to this essay as a curiosity which illustrates certain aspects of the later development of the cult. The theme is a description of Kṛṣṇa's qualities as contemplated by Rādhā, but it is really a Kṛṣṇaite Stotra of hardly any great merit. There is no inherent impossibility of its being Caitanya's own composition, unless it is by Caitanya-dāsa; but the question must be left open until there is more conclusive evidence to that effect.

APPENDIX

PREMĀMṚTARASĀYANASTOTRAM

śrīradhākṛṣṇābhyaṃ namah

ekadā kṛṣṇavirahād dhyāyanti priyaśaṅgamam !

manobāṣpanirāsārtham jalpatīdam muhurmuḥ !! 1

by Kṛṣṇadāsa (C-C, Ādi. xi, 23) as a disciple of Nityānanda and as belonging to the Nityānanda-śākhā. See also C-C, Antya. vi, 61 ; C-Bh, Antya. vi ; *Gauragaṇoddeśa*, śl. 127. He is regarded in the later hagiology of the sect as one of the twelve Gopāls (*dvādaśa-gopāla*), an incarnation of Sudāman. This Kṛṣṇa-kiṅkara was probably the younger brother of Kāśīrāma-dāsa, the famous Bengali translator of the *Mahābhārata*; for from his Bengali *Śrī-kṛṣṇa-vilāsa* it appears that his original name Kṛṣṇa-dāsa was changed by his Guru, Gopāla (or Jaya-gopāla as here) Dāsa, into Kṛṣṇakiṅkara. The present Bengali version of the *Bhakti-bhāva-pradīpa*, however, has not been mentioned by Dinesh Chandra Sen nor noticed in any catalogue of Bengali manuscripts. The original Sanskrit work, however, has been noticed by Aufrecht (i, p. 290a). Another Sanskrit work by the same author, entitled *Bhakti-ratnākara*, is noticed by Rājendra Lāla Mitra, *Notices*. ix, No. 2918, p. 31. The name of the author, however, is given by Mitra, as Gopāla Dāsa (and not Jaya-gopāla Dāsa), which appears to be a mistake: for one of the concluding verses cited by him from this work says: *prathayati jayaśabdād yas-tu gopāla-dāsaḥ*. The date of composition of this work is given as Śaka 1511=1589 A.D. It is also quoted in the *Bhakti-bhāva-pradīpa* as *madiye bhakti-ratnākare*.

15. tathāhi bhāgavatasandarbhē rūpadevasya vacanam—

tādṛśabhāvaṃ prathayitumiha hi yo'vatāratāmāpa /

ādurjanagaṇaśaraṇam sa jayati caitanyavigrahaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ //

kṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇendurānando govindo gokulotsavaḥ !
 gopālo gopagopīśo vallabendro vrajeśvaraḥ !! 2
 pratyaham nūtanatarastaruṇānandavigrahaḥ !
 ānandaikasukhasvāmī santoṣākṣayaakoṣabhūḥ !! 3
 ābhīrikājanānandaḥ paramānandakandalah !
 vṛndāvanakalānātho vrajāṅganānavāṅkuraḥ !! 4
 nayanānandakusumo vrajabhāgyaphalodayaḥ !
 pratīkṣaṇātisukhado mohano madhuradyutiḥ !! 5
 sudhāniryāsanīcayaḥ sunderaḥ śyāmalākṛtiḥ !
 navayauvanasampūrṇaḥ śyāmāmṛtarasākaraḥ !! 6
 indraṇīlamanīsvaccho dalitāñjanacikkanaḥ !
 indīvarasukhasparśo nīradasnigdhāsunderaḥ !! 7
 karpūrāgurukastūrīkuṅkumādyaṅka dhūsaḥ !
 sukuñcitakacasrastollasaccāruśikhaṇḍakaḥ !! 8
 mattālivibhramatpārijātapuṣpāvatamaṣakaḥ !
 ānanendujitānantapūrṇaśārada candramāḥ !! 9
 śrīmallaṭātpāṭīratilakālakarañjitaḥ !
 nīlonnatabhrūvilāso madālasavilocanaḥ !! 10
 ākarṇāraktasaundaryalaharīdr̥ṣṭīmantharaḥ !
 ghūrṇāyamānanayanaḥ sākīkṣaṇavīcakṣaṇaḥ !! 11
 apāṅgeṅgitasaubhāgyataralīkṛtacetanaḥ !
 īṣanmudritalolākṣaḥ sunāśapūṭasunderaḥ !! 12
 gaṇḍaprāntollasatsvarṇamakarākṛtikunḍalaḥ !
 prasannānandavadano jagadāhlādakārakaḥ !! 13
 susmerāmṛtalāvanyaparakāśīkṛtadinmukhaḥ !
 sindūrārūṇasusnigdhamāṇīkyadaśanacchadaḥ !! 14
 pīyūṣādhikamādhvīkasūktiśrutirasāyanaḥ !
 tribhaṅgalalitastiryaggrīvastrailokyamohanaḥ !! 15
 kuñcitādharaśaṃsaktakūjadveṇuvīnodavān !
 kaṅkaṇāñḍadaḥkeyūramudrikāvilasadbhajaḥ !! 16
 svarṇasūtrasuvinyastakaustubhāmuktakandharaḥ !
 muktāhārollasadvakṣaḥ sphuratsrīvatsalāñchanaḥ !! 17
 āpīnaḥṛdayo nīpamālāvān bandhurodaraḥ !
 sambītapītavasano rasanāvilasatkaṭiḥ !! 18
 antarīṇadhaṭībāndhaḥ prapadāndolitāñcalaḥ !
 aravindapadadvandvakvaṇaddhvanitanūpuraḥ !! 19
 pallavārūṇamādhuryasukumārāpadāmbujaḥ !
 nakhacandrajitāśeṣadarpaṇendumaṇīprabhaḥ !!
 dhvajavajrāṅkuśāmbhojarājaccaraṇapallavaḥ !
 trailokyādbhūtasauṇḍaryaparipākamanoharaḥ !! 21
 sākṣātkelikalāmūrṭiḥ parihāsarasārṇavaḥ !

yamunopavanaśreṇīvilāsī vrajanāgarah || 22
 gopāṅganājanāsakto vṛndāvanapurandarah !
 ābhīranāgarīprāṇanāyakah kāmāśekharah || 23
 yamunānāviko gopīpārāvārakṛtodyamah !
 rādhāvarodhanirataḥ kadambavanamandirah || 24
 vrajayoṣitsadāhṛdyo gopīlocanatārah !
 jīvanānandarasikah pūrṇānandakutūhalī || 25
 gopikākucakastūrīpaṅkilah kelilālasah !
 alakṣitakuṭīrastho rādhāsarvasvasamputah || 26
 vallabīvadanāmbhojamadhumattamadhuvrataḥ !
 nigūḍharasavid gopīcittāhlādakalānidhiḥ || 27
 kālindīpulinānandī krīḍātāṇḍavapaṇḍitaḥ !
 ābhīrikājanānāṅgaraṅgabhūmiḥ sa vai hariḥ || 28
 vidagdhaḡopavanitācittākūtavinodavān !
 nānopāyanapāṇīśca gopnārīgaṇāvṛtaḥ || 29
 vāñchākālpataruḥ kāmakaḡārasaśīromaṇiḥ !
 koṭīkandarpalāvanyaḥ koṭīndulalitadyutiḥ || 30
 jagattrayamanomohakaro manmathamanmathah !
 gopasīmantiniśāśvadbhāvāpekṣāparāyaṇah || 31
 navīnamadhurasnehapreyasīpremasaṇcayah !
 gopīmanorathākṛānto nāṭyalīlāviśāradaḥ || 32
 pratyaṅgarabhasāveśah premadāprāṇavallabhaḥ !
 rāsollāsamadōnmatto rādhikāratilampaṭah || 33
 khelālīlāparīśrāntisvedāmburucirāṇanaḥ !
 gopīsvāṅkalasatsrīmān malayānilasevitaḥ || 34
 ityevam prāṇanāthasya premāmṛtarasāyanam !
 yaḥ paṭhecchrāveyed vāpi sa prema labhate dhruvam || 35 *
 iti śrīcāitanyagosvāminā viracitaṁ premāmṛtastotraṁ sampūrṇam ||

* This transcription is based generally on Dacca University Library Ms No. 3628, with variants noted from Ms No. 2542. The first named Ms (marked here as A) in Bengali character consists of only one folio, having 14 and 15 lines respectively on its two pages : neatly written, fairly correct, modern script of probably the early 19th century. The second Ms (marked here as B) is much older, worn out and faded in many places ; part of the first page (fol. 1b) being entirely indistinct and faded out. It consists of 3 folios (beginning on 1b and ending on 3a) of 9 lines to a page, excepting fol. 3a which contains 8 lines.

Variant readings : The numbers refer to the ślokas in the text.³ nūtanastatra B ³⁰kuṅkumāktāṅgadhūsarah B ⁸sukūñcitakacasvaccho⁰A ¹²saundarya⁰ for ⁰saubhāgya⁰A ¹²sunāśāpuṣṭa⁰A ¹⁴susmerāmṛtasaundaryaA ¹⁷okaustubhāmukta-sundarah A ¹⁹dvandvakaladhvanita⁰A ²⁰badhūkāruṇamādhurya⁰B ²³vṛndāraṇyapurandarah B ²⁴rādhāvaruddhanirataḥ B ; rādhāvarodhanirataḥ ²⁵kutūhalah B ²⁷vadanāmbhojamadhupāna

B²⁷ ०rasavid yo'pi B²⁸ ०tāṇḍayamaṇḍitaḥ A²⁸ ०raṅgabhūmisudhākaraḥ B²⁹ ०vanitācittā-drita (ṭa) modakaḥ B³³ ०pramadāprāṇa⁰ B³⁴ ०līlāparisaṅgaḥ sveda⁰ A ; racitānanaḥ B
colophon : iti śrījagajjīvanānandaśrīkṛṣṇacaitanyacandramukhanirgatam premāmṛtarasā-
yanam stotram sampūṇam B

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SOME BENGAL VAIṢNAVA WORKS IN SANSKRIT

In the Dacca University Manuscript collection we have come across a few Sanskrit Stotras which are attributed to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, apparently the Vedāntist scholar who is reported to have been converted by Caitanya at Puri.

Vāsudeva is described as a Navadvīpa scholar who must have been much older than Caitanya, for Caitanya's maternal grandfather Nilāmbara-Cakravartin is said to have been a friend of Vāsudeva's father Maheśvara-Viśārada. Among Vāsudeva's already known Sanskrit works we have a commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaitamakaranda*,¹ the colophon as well as the opening and closing verses of which commentary designate the author Vāsudeva-Bhaṭṭācārya as Gauḍīyācārya. At the close of the work Vāsudeva refers to his father Bhaṭṭācārya-Viśārada as *vedānta-vidyāmaya*² and informs us that the work was completed under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa who is said to have humbled the pride of Kṛṣṇarāya, king of Kārṇāṭa. A work on Nyāya entitled *Samāsavāda* by Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya is mentioned by Aufrecht.³ Tradition which makes Vāsudeva into a great academic figure ascribes to him a Sārvabhauma-nirukti, apparently a gloss on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, the standard work on Navya Nyāya, but nothing is known of this alleged work. Gopīnātha Kavirāja however informs us⁴ that Vāsudeva's commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* is called *Sārāvalī* and is available in fragments. Gopīnātha Kavirāja also speaks of a *Tattva-dīpikā* of Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, but unfortunately he furnishes no further information on these works.

1. R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, viii, No. 2854, pp. 291-92.

2. Gopinath Kaviraj (*Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*. IV, p. 6) ascribes a *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvarī* on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* to Maheśvara Viśārada.

3. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i; p. 698a.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 68.

The Bengali biographies of Caitanya written within one century of his death (1533 A.D.), give us some information about the Vedāntist scholar. Jayānanda tells us that in his adoration of Caitanya the inspired Sārvabhauma composed then and there on his conversion an eulogistic *Caitanyāṣṭaka*,⁵ consisting obviously of eight verses. Jayānanda also ascribes to him a *Caitanya-sahasranāma*⁶ in verse, and a *Śata-śloki*⁷ on Caitanya, the last apparently in hundred verses. Vṇḍāvanadāsa⁸ also refers to Sārvabhauma's hundred verses (*Śata-śloka*) in glorification of Caitanya. Jayānanda further mentions an *Aṣṭottara-śata-nāma* by Sārvabhauma, apparently a poem giving one hundred and eight epithets of Caitanya.⁹ Sārvabhauma might have also written something on the life of Caitanya, for Jayānanda ascribes to him the credit of being the Vyāsa-Avatāra with respect to the Caitanya-carita.¹⁰

So far as we have been able to trace, an anonymous *Caitanyāṣṭottara-śata-nāma* is mentioned in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 139, which list also enters an *Advaitāṣṭaka*, apparently a series of eight verses on Caitanya's elderly associate Advaita, by Sārvabhauma. Roth's Tübingen Catalogue (p. 10) also mentions a work called *Caitanya-dvādaśa-nāma-stotra* by Sārvabhauma.

We may also mention here that in the anthology of Vaiṣṇava Sanskrit verses compiled, under the title *Padyāvalī*,¹¹ by Rūpa Gosvāmin, an immediate disciple of Caitanya, we have seven verses ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya (Nos. 72, 73, 90, 91, 99, 100, 133), while to Kavi-sārvabhauma, probably a different poet, is attributed one verse (No. 132). These verses are :

Śrīsārvabhaumabhaṭṭācāryāṇām—

na vayaṃ kavayo na tārīkī na ca vedāntanītāntapāragāḥ /
na ca vādinivārakāḥ paraṃ kapaṭābhīrakiśorakiṅkarāḥ // 72
parivadatu jano yathā tathāyaṃ nanu mukharo na vayaṃ vicāryāmaḥ /
harirasamadirāmadātimattā bhuvi viluṭhāma naṭāma nirviśāma // 73

5. Caitanyāṣṭaka ślok karilā prabandhe ;
sārbabhauma dhyānastuti kari gauracandre // *Caitanya-maṅgala*, p. 125.
6. Caitanyasahasranām ślokaprabandhe !
sārbabhauma racila kebal premānande !! *op. cit.*, p. 3.
7. Caitanyer śataślok sārbabhauma mukhe ! p. 125
8. ei mata sārvabhauma śataślok kari /
stuti kare caitanyer pādapadma dhari // *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Antya iii.
9. sārvabhauma karilen aṣṭottavaśatanām ; *Caitanya-maṅgala*, p. 125.
10. sārvabhauma bhaṭṭācārya vyās-avatār /
caitanyacarit āge karila pracār // p. 3.

The Vaiṣṇava hagiology, however, knows Vṇḍāvana-dāsa as an incarnation of Vyāsa, the reputed author of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, śl. 109), and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kaviraja applies this epithet to Vṇḍāvana-dāsa in many passages of his work.

11. A critical edition of this work based on 16 manuscripts by the present writer is published in the Dacca University Oriental Text Series. The numbering of the verses as well as attribution are as in this edition.

lāvaṇyāmṛtavanyā madhurimalahariparipākaḥ !
 kāruṇyānām hṛdayam kapatakiśoraḥ parisphuratu !! 90
 bhavantu tāni janmāni yatra te muralīkalah !
 karṇapeyatvamāyāti kiṃ me nirvāṇavārtayā !! 91
 jñātaṃ kāṇabhujam matam paricitaivānvīkṣikī śikṣitā
 mīmāṃsā viditaiva sām̐khyasaraṇiryoge vitirṇā matiḥ !
 vedāntāḥ parīśilitāḥ sarabhasam kiṃ tu sphuranmādhurī-
 dhārā kācana nandasūnumuralī maccittamākaraṣati !! 99
 amarīmukhasīdhumādhurīṇām laharī kācana cātūrī kalānām !
 taralīkurute mano madīyam muralīnādaparamparā murāreḥ !! 100
 idānīmaṅgamakṣālī racitaṃ cānulepanam !
 icānīmeva te kṛṣṇa dhūlidhūsaritam vapuḥ !! 133
 kavisārvabhaumasya—
 kvānanam kva nayanam kva nāsikā kva śrutiḥ kva ca śikheti deśitaḥ !
 tatra tatra nihitāṅgulidalo vallavīkulamanandayat prabhuḥ !! 132

It is noteworthy that while No. 133 is ascribed in this anthology to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya with the name spelt in the honorific plural, the verse immediately preceding, No. 132, is assigned to Kavi-sārvabhauma with the name spelt in the singular; and this mode of ascription would probably indicate that the two names refer to two different poets. All these verses have for their theme the adoration of Kṛṣṇa; they could not therefore have been taken from the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya.

Again, Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānandā's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*,¹² which is a series of 143 verses in praise of Caitanya, quotes (on śl. 143) two verses from the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Sārvabhauma thus :

sarvavidvanmukutaṃmaṇisurācāryāvatārasārvabhaumabhaṭṭācāryāṇāmanubhavo yathā
 śrīcaitanyaṣṭake—
 vairāgyavidyānījabhaktiyogaśikṣārthamekaḥ puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ !
 śrīkṛṣṇacaitanyaśarīradhārī kṛpāmbudhiryastamaham prapadye !! 1
 kālānnaṣṭam bhaktiyogam nijam yaḥ prāduṣkartum kṛṣṇacaitanyanāmā !
 āvirbhūtastasya pādāravinde gāḍham gāḍham liyatam cittabhṛṅgaḥ !!

These two verses are again cited by him in his comments on śl. 41 with the indication : *sarva-vidvacchiromaṇḍala-ratna-vāsudeva-sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācāryāṇām anubhavo yathā*. This appears to confirm the tradition about Sārvabhauma's authorship of an Aṣṭaka in praise of Caitanya; for, the genuineness of Ānandin's citation is supported by other independent evidence. The second of the two verses cited as above by him, is also found quoted and attributed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya (*tad uktam śrī-sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya-pādaiḥ*) by Sanātana Gosvāmin, also an immediate disciple of Caitanya and Rūpa's brother, in his own commentary on his Sanskrit *Bṛhad-bhāga-*

vatāmṛta (on śl. 3). Kavikarṇapūra in his Sanskrit drama *Caitanya-cāndrodaya*¹³ (vi, 43-44) puts these two verses in a letter which he makes Vāsudeva write and send to Caitanya through Dāmodara and Jagadānanda. Ānandin, no doubt, knew this dramatic version of Caitanya's life by Karṇapūra, which he quotes elsewhere in his commentary (on śl. 62), but as Kavikarṇapūra does not mention any *Caitanyāṣṭaka* in connexion with these verses, it is probable that Ānandin took them independently from his Aṣṭaka itself of Sārvabhauma. Vṛndāvana-dāsa also places these two verses in the mouth of Sārvabhauma (Antya. iii), but he does not indicate his source; while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja obviously adopts Kavikarṇapūra's story which he reproduces, along with these verses, in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya. vi, 248—256).¹⁴ It is noteworthy that Rūpa Gosvāmin mentions Sārvabhauma in one of his own three *Caitanyāṣṭakas*, which were apparently modelled on Sārvabhauma's earlier work of this type; for, in this connexion Rūpa tells us that Caitanya's greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like Sārvabhauma.¹⁵

The manuscripts which we have examined in the Dacca University collection give us several works ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, but the genuineness of these pedestrian verses is extremely doubtful. None of the above verses, cited by Ānandin and others, as well as those found in the *Padyāvalī*, can be traced in them. These are probably the productions of some later unknown scribbler or scribblers of stereotyped Stotras, betraying a curious knowledge of Sanskrit language and prosody, as well as strange mixing up of Bengali words and forms, which can hardly be fathered upon a great Sanskrit scholar like Vāsudeva. They are very short poems, all in praise of Caitanya, while one is devoted to the glorification of Caitanya's associate Nityānanda. The fact or tradition that Sārvabhauma wrote in praise of Caitanya, no doubt, facilitated the attribution of these later verses in a lump upon the Vedāntist convert when his original poems were lost in course of time; and this sectarian zeal further made him responsible for verses even in praise of Advaita and Nityānanda. As poems or even as Stotras, these verses hardly possess any value, but as they are short compositions we transcribe them here as curiosities, for they are interesting specimens which illustrate certain aspects of the later development of the cult. One of these is called *Gaurāṣṭaka*, the other *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, but both are poor imitations of Jayadeva's metrical style and the two verses cited above do not of course occur in them. The third poem in ordinary Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre is called *Sarvāparādhabhāṇjana Śrī-caitanya-*

13. Ed. Kāvya-mālā 87, Bombay, 1917. The work is expressly dated in Śaka 1494=1572 A.D.

14. This work was composed in 1615 A.D. See *IHQ*, ix, 1933, pp. 98-99. The fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* puts the date of the latter work some time earlier at the close of the 16th century.

15. *nu varṇayitum īśate gurutarāvatārāyitā !
bhavantam uru-buddhaya na khalu sārvabhaumādayaḥ !!*

nāmāṣṭottara-śata (25 verses). The fourth work is also a Stotra of the above Aṣṭaka type in mixed Sanskrit and Bengali jargon, but it calls itself *Śrī-caitanya-caritāvali*. In all these poems, the respective colophons give the name of the author as Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, omitting his name Vāsudeva; but this mode of citation by his title only is also found to refer to Vāsudeva in the works of Rūpa, Sanātana, Ānandin and others, as well as in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava works. We reproduce the language, spelling and metre in this transcription without any attempt at emendation or correction. After these specimens, it will be hardly worthwhile to transcribe here the other poems ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, such as *Śrīmān-Nityānanda-prabhoḥ Aṣṭottaraśata-nāma*, which we have in the Dacca University collection but which are of the same type.

I. ŚRĪCAITANYĀṢṬAKASTOTRAM

śrīkṛṣṇacaitanyacandrāya namaḥ //

ujjvalavarāṇaṃ gauravaradehaṃ vilasati niravadhi bhāvavidehaṃ /
tribhuvanātāraṇakṛpayāleśaṃ tat praṇamāmi ca śrīśacītanayaṃ // 1
gadagada-antarabhāvavikāraṃ durjanatarjananādaviśālaṃ /
bhavabhayaabhañjanakāraṇakarūṇaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 2
vigalitanayanakamalajaladhāraṃ bhūṣaṇanavarasabhāvavikāraṃ /
gati-atimantharanṛtyavilāsaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 3
aruṇāmbaṛadharacārukapolam induvininditanakhacayaruciraṃ /
jalpati nijaguṇanāmaavinodaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 4
cañcalacārucaraṇagatiruciraṃ rañjita māñjirāmukharamadhīraṃ /
candravininditaśītalavadanaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 5
dhṛṭakaṭiḍorakamaṇḍaludaṇḍam divyakalevaramaṇḍitamundaṃ /
durjanakilviṣakhaṇḍanadaṇḍam taṃ praṇetyādi // 6
bhūṣaṇabhūruja-alakāvalilalitaṃ kampitabimbādharavararuciraṃ /
malayajaviraciraujjvalatilakaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 7
nindita-arūṇakamaladalanayanaṃ jānuvilambitaśrībhuja-yugalaṃ /
kalevarakaiśoranartakaveśaṃ taṃ praṇetyādi // 8
yaḥ paṭhet prātarutthāya śrīcaitanyastavāmṛtaṃ /
premabhaktiṃ labhettasya sarvatra jayamaṅgalaṃ // 9

iti śrīsārvabhaumabhaṭṭācāryaviracitaṃ śrīcaitanyāṣṭakaṃ
stotraṃ sampūrṇaṃ //

II. ŚRĪGAURĀṢṬAKASTOTRAM

malayasuvāsitabhūṣita-gātraṃ mūrtimanoharaviśvapavitraṃ /
bhaktaniṣevitapadayugadvandve śuddhakanakajaya gaura namaste // 1
saghanavipulajanalocanapūrṇaṃ jīvadayānidhitāpavidīrṇaṃ /
samkṣā (?) japati sadā nāma sahaṣte śuddhakanaketyādi // 2

simhagamana-jini-tāṇḍavalilā jivadayaṇidhikāraṇaśīlā /
 ajabhavasevitapadayugadvandve śuddhakanaketyādi // 3
 humhumkṛtagarjanatarjanaraṅge cañcalakaliyugatāpasasamjñe /
 padarajatāḍitaduṣṭasamaste śuddhakanaketyādi // 4
 gauradehadhṛtamālatimāle meruvilambitagaṅgādhāre /
 mandamadhurahāsabhāvamukhapadme śuddhakanaketyādi // 5
 bhaktiparādhinasāntikaveśe gamana-sanṛtyakabhāvaviśeṣe /
 mālāyavilambitadehasamaste śuddhakanaketyādi // 6
 phāguvirājītacandanabhāla kuṅkumarañjītadehaviśāla /
 padanakharājītalajjītacandre śuddha ityādi // 7
 bhogaviraktikanyāsīkaveśa duḥkhavimocanalokapraveśa /
 bhaktiviraktipravartakacitte śuddha ityādi // 8
 iti śrīsārvaḥṣaṇṇabhaṭṭācāryaviracitaṃ śrīś.īgaurāṣṭakaṃ stotraṃ sampūrṇaṃ //

III SARVĀPARĀDHABHANJANAM ŚRĪCAITANYANĀMĀṢṬOTTARAŚATAM

śrīśrīkṛṣṇacaitanyacandrāya namaḥ //

namaskṛtya pravakṣyāmi devadevaṃ jagadguruṃ /
 nāmnāmaṣṭottaraśataṃ caitanyasya mahātmanaḥ // 1
 viśvambharo jītakrodho māyāmānuṣakarmakṛt /
 amāyī māyinām śreṣṭho varadeśo dvijottamaḥ // 2
 jagannāthapriyasutaḥ pītṛbhakto mahāmanāḥ /
 lakṣmīkāntaḥ śacīputraḥ premado bhaktavatsalaḥ // 3
 dvijapriyo dvijavaro vaiṣṇavaprāṇanāyakaḥ /
 dvijātipūjakaḥ śāntaḥ śrīnivāsapriyeśvaraḥ // 4
 taptakāñcanagaurāṅgaḥ simhagrīvo mahābhujāḥ /
 pītavāsā raktapaṭaḥ ṣaḍbhujō'tha caturbhujāḥ // 5
 dvibhujāśca gadāpāṇīścakrī padmadharo'malaḥ /
 śrīvatsalāñchano bhālamanīdhṛk kañjalocanaḥ // 6
 pāñcajanyaadharāḥ śārngī veṇupāṇiḥ surottamaḥ /
 kamalākṣeśvaraḥ prīto gopīlīlādharo yuvā // 7
 nīlaratnadharo raupyahārī kaustubhabhūṣaṇaḥ /
 tālāñkalīlo rudralīlākārī gurupriyaḥ // 8
 svanāmaguṇavaktā ca nāmopadeśadāyakaḥ /
 ācāṇḍālapriyaḥ śuddhaḥ sarvaprāṇihite rataḥ // 9
 viśvarūpānujaḥ sandhyāvatāraḥ śītalāśayaḥ /
 niḥśīmakaruṇo gupta ātmabhaktipravartakaḥ // 10
 ārtapriyaḥ śuciḥ śuddhabhāvado bhagavatpriyaḥ /
 indrādisarvalokeśavanditaśrīpādāmbujaḥ // 11
 nyāsicūḍāmaṇiḥ kṛṣṇaḥ sannyāsāśramapāvanaḥ /
 caitanyaḥ kṛṣṇacaitanyo daṇḍadhṛk nyastadaṇḍakaḥ // 12

avadhūtapriyo nityānandaśaḍbhujadarśakaḥ /
 mukundaḥ siddhido nityo vāsudevo'mṛtapradaḥ // 13
 gadādhara-prāṇanātha ārtihā śaraṇapradaḥ /
 akiñcanapriyaprāṇo guṇagrāhī jitendriyaḥ // 14
 mahānandanaṭo nṛtyagītanāmapriyaḥ kaviḥ /
 adoṣadarśī sumukho madhurapriyadarśanaḥ // 15
 pratāparudrasantrātā rāmānandapriyo guruḥ /
 ananta-guṇasampannaḥ sarvatīrthaikapāvanaḥ // 16
 vaikuṇṭhanātho lokaśo bhaktābhimatarūpadhṛk /
 nārāyaṇo mahāyogī jñānabhaktipradaḥ prabhuḥ // 17
 pīyūṣavacanaḥ pṛthvipāvanaḥ satyavāk yataḥ /
 oḍra-deśajanānandasandohāmṛtarūpadhṛk // 18
 yaḥ paṭhet prātarutthāya caitanyasya mahātmanaḥ /
 śraddhayā parayāpyet stotraṁ sarvāghanaśānam // 19
 premabhaktirharau tasya jāyate nātra saṁśayaḥ /
 asādhya-rogayukto'pi mucyate rogasaṅkaṭāt // 20
 sarvāparādhayukto'pi so'parādhāt pramucyate /
 phālguṇe paurṇamāsyāṁ tu caitanyajanmavāsare // 21
 śraddhayā parayā bhaktyā paṭhet stotraṁ jagadguroḥ /
 upoṣaṇaṁ pūjanaṁ ca caitanyasya mahāprabhoḥ // 22
 yadyat prakurute kāmāṁ tattadeva labhennaraḥ /
 aputro vaiṣṇavaṁ putraṁ labhate nātra saṁśayaḥ // 23
 dātavyaṁ kṛṣṇabhaktāya nābhaktāya kadācana /
 ante caitanyadevasya smṛtirbhavati śāśvatī // 24
 viśvambharāya gaurāya caitanyāya mahātmane /
 śacīputrāya mitrāya lakṣmīśāya namo namaḥ // 25
 iti śrīsarvabhauma-bhaṭṭācāryaviracitaṁ sarvāparādhabhāṇjanaṁ
 śrīcaitanya-nāmāṣṭottaraśataṁ sampūrṇaṁ //

IV. ŚRĪCAITANYACARITĀVALI

Śrīcaitanya-candraṁ bhaje //

kaliyugadhanyaṁ kṣīratipunyaṁ śrīcaityaṁ paramaparaṁ /
 cīvijakulasāraṁ trijagatasāraṁ mahimā apāraṁ gauravaram // 1
 tanukāñcanavarāṇaṁ vayasatitaruṇaṁ ambara-aruṇaṁ daṇḍadharaṁ /
 nijaguṇaprakāśaṁ prema-vilāsaṁ kapaṭasaṁnyāsaṁ bheka-dharaṁ // 2
 harināmaki ḍorā kaṇṭha hi jorā jagamanabhorālāvanyaṁ /
 rādhā-rasa lāgi nūtanavivāgi anurāgi atisa-yavisayaṁ // 3
 avadhautataraṅgi aviratarāṅgi nṛtya-anaṅgi jagavidiṭaṁ /
 śrīvāsasahacaraṁ vāme gadādharaṁ priya-viśvambharaṁ advaitaṁ // 4

saṅkīrtanaracitaṁ vedaviditaṁ nijagaṇasahitaṁ nṛtyakaraṁ /
 śrīkṛṣṇaprasaṅgaṁ atihitaraṅgaṁ gadagada-aṅgaṁ pulakadharaṁ // 5
 pahubhāve vibharaṁ hariharivolam ānandaloraṁ nayanabharaṁ /
 kṣaṇe kṣaṇe hāsata kṣaṇe kṣaṇe royata kṣaṇe kṣaṇe nṛtyata dharaṇidharaṁ // 6
 janadīnadayaḥ ānāthakṛpāḥ ācāṇḍāla prati sadayaṁ /
 pahasacaraḥ jīvaṇaṁ maṅgalabhūṣaṇaṁ pātakitāraṇaṁ mahāśayaṁ // 7
 pṛthivite janma pracāritadharaṁ pūrṇabrahmarūpasvayaṁ /
 dhanya nadiyāpuraṁ dhanya śaci-udaraṁ janmayogeśvarakīrtidvayaṁ // 8
 śrīcaitanyacaritaṁ jagati pavitraṁ sārvaḥaumaḥbhaṭṭācāryaviracitaṁ // 9
 iti śrīcaitanyacaritāvali sampūrṇaṁ !!

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PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

Caitanyaism believes in three stadiums or gradations of one and indivisible Reality, which are designated respectively as the Brahma, the Paramātmā and the Bhagavat. The distinction is not essential but is one of degree only ; and the distinction is possible because different Sādhakas possess different capacities and modes of realisation. The Brahma (neuter), as the philosophical absolute, is nothing but the *nirviśeṣa* state of the Bhagavat, conceived as the unconditioned, impersonal and undifferentiated thought-substance and corresponding to the Brahma of the Advaita-vādins ; but the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, constitutes the complete manifestation of the godhead as the perfect person in the fullest display of the distinctive divine potencies, features and attributes. The Brahma is unqualified, the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of perfect attributes. In the Brahma all the powers and attributes remain in a potential and undifferentiated state, but the Bhagavat represents the highest being or person in the hierarchy of spiritual manifestation, in whom all the Viśeṣas are infinitely and most perfectly developed. The Bhagavat, therefore, represents the conception of the highest personal god of this theistic school of Vaiṣṇavism ; and as he is the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇāvirbhāva*), the Brahma is his incomplete or imperfect manifestation (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*), the latter realisable no doubt by Jñāna but the former accessible only to Bhakti. It must not be supposed that the vision of the one form is real and the other unreal, for both the forms are in essence identical ; but the apparent difference arises from the complete or incomplete nature of the vision due to a difference in the mode of worship followed by the particular seeker.

The essence of the Lordship or Bhagavattā consists in the actualisation of the divine Śakti or energy which is intrinsic to the divine person ; and on the degree and quality of the display of this Śakti, the distinction of three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātmā and the Bhagavat depends. The Śakti or divine energy of the Bhagavat is viewed in

three respects, but in their totality all the three aspects constitute his self or essence, although in his unthinkable power he actually transcends them. These three aspects are respectively called (i) the *Parā* (*Antaraṅgā*), or *Svarūpa-śakti*, (ii) the *Taṭasthā* or *Jīvaśakti*, and (iii) the *Bahiraṅgā* or *Māyā-śakti*. The *Parā* or *Svarūpa-śakti*, as the name itself implies, is that energy which constitutes the most essential and perfect selfhood of the *Bhagavat* and is therefore inseparable from him. This energy is also called *Antaraṅgā* or intrinsic, as opposed to the *Māyā-śakti* which is *Bahiraṅgā* or external and which never affects his true self. To this *Māyā-śakti* is attributed the sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, which consists chiefly of an aspect of *Bahiraṅga Vibhāva* or extraneous power in the form of the material *Prakṛti* or *Pradhāna*. Although unconnected with the essential divine self, this *Māyā-śakti* is also real, and not merely a power of illusion as the *Advaita-vādins* think ; the resulting phenomenal world therefore is also relatively real. As an energy must inhere in a substance, the *Bhagavat* is as much the substratum of the *Māyā-śakti* as of the *Svarūpa-śakti*, but the *Māyā-śakti* is said to be extraneous to his essence or *svarūpa*, because this self-determined limitation through the *Māyā-śakti* does not exist in the highest form of the *Bhagavat*. The *Taṭasthā* or *Jīva-śakti*, as the name itself implies, is that form of divine energy which does not fall under either of the above two categories of *Antaraṅgā* and *Bahiraṅgā-Śaktis*, being distinct from both and yet closely related to both. The *Jīva* as the individual self is an aspect of this *Śakti*. This *Śakti* is called *Taṭasthā* or aloof because the *Jīva*, as an expression of this *Śakti*, is a part (albeit an infinitesimal part) of the *Bhagavat*, but the *Jīva* is also liable to the influence of the *Māyā-śakti* which, having power over creation, is the source of bondage and rebirth. Thus, the *Jīva* cannot come directly under the *Svarūpa-śakti* which is eternally unaffected by the *Māyā-śakti* ; but on account of its ultimate affinity with the *Bhagavat*, the *Jīva* even in bondage has the inherent capacity of realising itself and becoming a part of the *Svarūpa-śakti*. Hence, to explain the nature and position of the *Jīva* it is necessary to presume an intermediate *Taṭasthā Śakti* which is connected with, but which is distinct from both the *Antaraṅgā* and *Bahiraṅgā Śaktis*. The concept of the *Paramātman* as a partial manifestation of the *Bhagavat* has relation mainly to the *Jīva-śakti* and the *Māyā-śakti* of the Lord, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The *Paramātman* is thus the supreme godhead viewed in relation to Spirit (*Jīva*) and Nature (*Prakṛti*) ; he is endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world, as well as of being the inward regulator or *Antaryāmin* of the individual self. The relation between the *Bhagavat* and *Paramātman*, like that between the *Bhagavat* and the *Brahma*, is really one of gradation in the hierarchy of manifestations of one and the same Reality, viewed differently with different capacity by the individual seekers. But since the two energies assigned to the *Paramātman* are regarded as either aloof or external in relation to the intrinsic divine energy, the function of the *Paramātman* operates only so long as the *Jīva* is at a lower plane and is blind to the true nature of Reality.

The necessity for postulating these three concepts of the Brahma, the Paramātmān and the Bhagavat is not difficult to understand. As a theistic sectarian faith which believes in a personal god, the concept of the Bhagavat as the perfect person is a philosophical necessity and justification; while the Advaita concept of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma as a historical heritage has to be recognised and reconciled, from its own point of view, as a lower manifestation, vouchsafed to the religiously defective but intellectually keen seeker. The *raison d'être* of the third concept of the Paramātmān is somewhat more complex. The idea of the Antaryāmin as the inward ruler is upaniṣadic, and Deussen is probably right in thinking that from this idea developed the concept of a divine person in later theistic systems, in which the idea is, as here, implicitly recognised. The term Paramātmān, as well as the underlying idea of the Paramātmān in relation to the Jivātman, in which also is absorbed the already established idea of the evolution of Prakṛti, is therefore a legacy of older philosophical systems, which is acknowledged also in one of the sources of modern sectarian Vaiṣṇavism, viz. in the Purāṇic speculation. The difficulties, however, of the Advaita doctrine of Māyā and of its monistic and highly idealistic interpretation of the relation of Jīva to Brahma made such a theory unacceptable in their entirety to the dualistic Bengal School. As the Bengal School believed, somewhat in the Sāṃkhya manner, in the relative reality of the world, the Vedāntic theory of its illusory unreality was not consistent with its dualistic position. To obviate these difficulties and to reconcile traditional ideas mentioned above with its own view of a personal god, the supreme deity in the lower form of the Paramātmān had to be endowed with two real and eternal Śaktis in relation to the Jīva and the Prakṛti. The workings of these two Śaktis, however, are supposed not to affect the essential selfhood of the god, just in the same way as the Advaita-vādin's Māyā does not affect the impersonal and unconditioned Brahma.

Thus, according to the view of the Bengal School, there is in the highest form of the Bhagavat a direct and full display of the Svarūpa-śakti which goes to make up the Svarūpa or the perfect divine self. The other two Śaktis are displayed indirectly through the medium of the partial form of the Paramātmān. In other words, these two Śaktis have scope only when the Jīva is in the deluded (*vimohita*) stage, but when it attains the Bhagavat himself, the Jīva is subject only to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, of which, as we shall see presently, Bhakti is a function. The Svarūpa-śakti, again, viewed in its different aspects, is classified into Sandhinī, Samvit and Hlādinī Śaktis which correspond roughly to Sat, Cit and Ānanda of orthodox philosophy. The Sandhinī Śakti is the energy of existence of the self-existent being which also upholds the existence of the Jīva and the Prakṛti. It is in relation to this Śakti that the Bhagavat is described as the ultimate reality, and the world and the individual as relative reality. By the Samvit Śakti, the self-knowing Bhagavat is both the knowledge and the knower, and makes others possessed of knowledge. The last Hlādinī Śakti is the Bhagavat's energy of infinite bliss, which also causes in others pure bliss. These Śaktis in fullest form exist in the Bhagavat, but since the Jīva is an Aṇu or infinitesimal part of the Bhagavat, it has the capacity of

realising them but for the obscuration caused by the Māya-śakti.

All these aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti are regarded as collateral attributes of the Bhagavat, existing inseparably and eternally in him and constituting in their totality and unity his very self. They are yet graded in a peculiar manner. Of the Sandhinī, Samvit and Hlādinī, each succeeding Śakti is supposed to include and supersede the preceding, so that the Hlādinī Śakti is the highest and most important, inasmuch as it includes and supersedes the other two. The Bhakti as a function in the Jīva is only an expression of this Hlādinī Śakti by which the Jīva releases itself from the fetters of the extraneous Māyā-śakti in the phenomenal world and realises its contiguity to the Bhagavat. This prominence given to the Hlādinī Śakti thus explains not only the peculiarly emotional character of its attitude of Bhakti or devotion but also the peculiarly emotional standpoint of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism which conceives its deity as essentially composed of bliss, and regards the various forms or stages of the devotional attitude in terms of intimate human relationship considered in its emotional aspects (such as Dāsyā, Sakhyā, Vātsalya etc). This highest divine attribute of bliss is the source of his eternal Līlā or motiveless sport, which the divine Being enjoys with his Associates (Parikaras), who are also his Devotees (Bhaktas) and who constitute nothing more than expressions of his Svarūpa-śakti; in other words, the Śaktimat in his infinite bliss sports with his own Śaktis. This is also expressed by the statement that the Lord is Rasa or the highest relishable sentiment itself, which attribute is nothing more than an aspect of his Hlādinī Śakti. This Rasa, which constitutes the Svarūpa or essence of the Lord, is taken ultimately to signify the highest and best Rasa recognised by the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-śāstra of this school, viz., Mādhurya or Mādhura Rasa, which is another name for the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment (Śṛṅgāra), forming the highest and purest transformation of the mighty sex-impulse of human beings. The attitude is a kind of erotic mysticism which seeks to express religious longings in the intimate language of earthly passion, for it conceives divine love as a reflex of the human emotion. The Śaktis are accordingly conceived, in terms of emotional human relationship, as his consorts or wives with whom he sports eternally; and this devout yet sensuous attitude entirely humanises the deity and presents him in a lovable human relation to his associates or devotees.

The relation of the Śaktis to the possessor of the Śaktis is represented, metaphysically, as an inscrutable (*acintya*) relation of non-difference as well as of difference, the whole theory thus receiving the designation of Acintya-bhedābheda-vāda, a peculiar point of view which distinguishes the Bengal School from other schools of Vaiṣṇavism. As parts of the divine being, the Śaktis are indeed non-different, but they also possess a real and separate existence, which is indeed relative to that of the Lord but which is nevertheless absolute in itself. The identity as well as the distinction is illustrated by an analogy. The three Śaktis are like the three aspects in which the sun manifests itself, viz., the solar disc (*maṇḍala*), the solar rays (*raśmi*) and the solar reflexion or halo (*bimba*). The Antarāṅgā or Svarūpa-śakti corresponds to the luminous disc or body of the sun itself, the Taṭasthā or Jīva-śakti is compared to its rays scattered away but ultimately

contained in the sun itself as the original source, and the Bahiraṅgā or Māyā-śakti is likened to the reflexion which is a dazzling illusion emanating from the sun and obscuring it, but existing outside and not forming an integral part of the sun.

As the Jīva is regarded as an aspect of the Jīva-śakti, the relation between the Jīva and the Paramātmā is the same as that between the Śakti and the Śaktimat described above. The Jīva is non-different in essence from the Bhagavat, because it is a part or *Aṁśa*, even if an atomic part, and possesses, even if in infinitesimal amount, the same divine characteristics, of which bliss is the most important; but since the superlativeness of the attributes and characteristics belongs to the Bhagavat alone and not to the Jīva, there is an inevitable difference, and complete identity can never be predicated. As the capacity for bliss, however, is an inherent attribute of the Jīva, it finds a point of contact with the intrinsic blissful energy of the Bhagavat through the function of Bhakti, which itself is nothing more than expression of this divine energy. This natural capacity of the Jīva restores its affinity or contiguity to the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat and counteracts its predisposed averseness which springs from the effects of the external Māyā-śakti. But the Jīva is never, by its very nature, an equal but a subordinate; and even when freed from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti, the Jīva persists in its real and eternal character as an eternal spiritual atom worshipping the Lord. The state of release, therefore, is only a release from the phenomenal bondage of the Māyā-śakti; it is not extinction or perception of identity or the merging of the Jīva in the Bhagavat. The emancipated self is no longer the Jīva or a part of the Jīva-śakti but becomes a part of the Svarūpa-śakti as the Lord's Parikara (Associate) or Bhakta (Devotee) in his paradise. But even in this emancipated state the relation of non-identity in identity (*bhedābheda*) continues, and the emancipated self persists as a devout servant of the Lord. Salvation, therefore, consists in an eternal experience of love in the ecstatic divine sport or *Līlā*. This is a privilege which is not granted to the Jñānin or the Yogin who attains only the inferior and colourless bliss of Brahmāsvāda, but to the Bhakta who makes light of such Mokṣa and delights in the bliss of continuous emotional worship or Bhajanānanda in the Bhagavat.

This Vaiṣṇava conception of the inherent Śaktis presumes the idea of the Bhagavat as the perfect person, and conceives him not as a formless entity but as an embodied substance, in which inhere infinite divine attributes and energies. The Lord is, therefore, not *a-mūrta* or un-embodied, but has a blessed form, a Mūrti or Vighraha, which however is not like the gross or sensuous form of human beings. The limbs and senses of the Jīva are due to the Jīva-śakti and are therefore phenomenal and material, but the Lord in his Svarūpa-śakti possesses a non-phenomenal and spiritual body. The divine person is conceived as identical with the divine essence in the supreme unity of the divine self; but it is not *nirviśeṣa* or undifferentiated but something real and *sa-viśeṣa*, possessing its own divine attributes. This form is, no doubt, unthinkable, but for purposes of meditation or devotion it is thinkable. Although this form has sometimes been described in the scriptures as possessing two, four, six or eight hands, yet the Bengal School firmly believes

that the two-handed form of the divinity, of which presumably man is the image, is the best and most beautiful for purposes of worship, inasmuch as it exhibits his attributes to the best advantage. If the Bhagavat is sometimes spoken of as assuming the phenomenal attributes of birth, childhood etc., these are not in reality phenomenal but aspects of his intrinsic self. Though the appearance may occur in the phenomenal world, it is not in itself phenomenal but is an expression at will of his essential divine Svarūpa which he always retains. In the same way, the Bhagavat as the perfect person possesses also a transcendental dwelling place, distinctive colour and decoration peculiar to himself as a personal god. No doubt, these are, like his Vighraha, regarded as expressions of his inherent divine self; nevertheless as a personal god he is represented as having a real, and not merely figurative, abode and sets of Parikaras etc. for the display of his Svarūpa.

The Bengal School identifies the Bhagavat with Kṛṣṇa depicted in the *Srīmad-bhāgavata* and presents him as its highest personal god. It maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra or an incarnation of the divine being, partial or complete, but that he is the Bhagavat himself in his perfect form. The Avatāras or series of incarnated divine forms are regarded as springing from the Paramātmā in whom in their unmanifest form they lie in an indiscrete and germinal state; but Kṛṣṇa is identical with the Bhagavat himself (*kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam*) in such a way that the phrase does not even mean that the Bhagavat manifested himself as Kṛṣṇa. If he appeared in the phenomenal world, it was not as an Avatāra but in his essential self as the Bhagavat. Nor did he ever enter into a gross body but retained his non-phenomenal form, which is the form known as that of Kṛṣṇa. He never himself undertook the task of removing the burden of the world, which task is proper only to an Avatāra; but these acts were performed by the partial incarnations which also, as parts in the whole, entered into him and made their simultaneous appearance. Such mundane appearance of the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat is regarded as entirely motiveless, and represented as an expression of his infinite attribute of bliss, called his Līlā or sport, for the purpose of making his devotees enjoy the sweetness of this bliss. This is also conceived as the central purport of the *Srīmad-bhāgavata*, so that all the Purāṇas or texts which speak of their own deities as the highest being are rejected as Tāmasika and therefore inferior in authority to the greatest Sāttvika Purāṇa, namely, the *Srīmad-bhāgavata*. Even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are Gauṇa Avatāras of the Paramātmā. In the Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat there is the fullest display of all the divine Śaktis, but what is prominent is the highest expression of the Hlādinī Śakti or the attribute of bliss which absorbs and supersedes all other aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti. The divine being revels in delight and produces delight in others. He fascinates and intoxicates men, and himself enjoys this ecstatic bliss; for the divine nature expresses itself exclusively in this form of perfect bliss and sweetness. As such, Kṛṣṇa, the highest embodiment of the erotic Ānanda or Mādhurya, is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva in whom only the aspect of divine might or Aiśvarya is displayed. As the supreme god Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat can have no other real and eternal form than the form of

man (*narākṛtī*), such four-handed forms of the deity as Vāsudeva etc. represent only the lower Aśvarya aspect. The transcendental Kṛṣṇa-Vigraha in the form and dress of a Gopa existed eternally in unmanifest sport (Aprakaṣa Līlā) even before its actual appearance in the Dvāpara Age in manifest sport (Prakaṣa Līlā), and it also exists eternally. One can understand that since the highest divinity is conceived as a personal god of love and grace, the best form that is attributed to him is that which bears a similarity to that of man ; but there was perhaps a narrower sectarian reason for distinguishing and establishing the two-handed Kṛṣṇa form as the most essential divine form. The attempt was perhaps meant to show that although Kṛṣṇa as Vāsudeva or Nārāyaṇa, manifested in the four-handed form, is worshipped by some sects, Kṛṣṇa as the two-handed son of Nanda, the object of worship of the Bengal sect, represents the deity in his real and eternal form.

With regard to the transcendental dwelling places and Parikaras of the Bhagavat, it is maintained that they are none other than those of Kṛṣṇa. His Dhāmas, as also his Parikaras, constitute in reality peculiar expressions of his most intrinsic and highest attribute of bliss, so that when the Bhagavat in his Svarūpa as Kṛṣṇa makes his appearance in the phenomenal world, his Dhāmas, along with his Parikaras, make their simultaneous appearance ; and like the Vigraha of the Bhagavat himself, his Dhāmas and Parikaras do not lose their non-phenomenal character. By his inscrutable power, his highest Paradise, which is set above all the Lokas, also exist on the phenomenal earth, so that the terrestrial Gokula or Vṛndāvana is not essentially different but really identical with the celestial Goloka, and the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa exists in both places with his same Parikaras. Just as the Vigraha of the god is conceived after the image of man, the Bengal School conceives the celestial residence of the deity on the model of the legendary terrestrial abode of Kṛṣṇa, so that the unearthly Kṛṣṇa-loka is only a sublimated replica of the earthly haunts of Vṛndāvana with its familiar objects and associations. Even the word Goloka is interpreted as equivalent to the word Gokula as the abode of cows and cowherds ; and as Kṛṣṇa in the form and dress of Gopa is the most essential form of the deity, his Parikaras as his *sajātīyas*, are also Gopas in both places. But this Kṛṣṇa-loka appears in three aspects in three different places as Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā according to the difference in his Līlā and his Parikaras appearing in each. In other words, the same Dhāma appears in three different aspects, each of which has a speciality according to the difference of appearance in the manifestation of the Lord and his Parikaras, i. e., of the particular Līlā taking place in each. The earthly replica of these three Dhāmas are not mere geographical localities, but being eternally occupied by the Bhagavat they are mystically conceived as non-phenomenal and eternal. In other words, these places are not mere places of worship or pilgrimage where the deity is supposed to remain in a subtle form or in the form of an image, but they are expressly said to be the actual places of personal residence of the deity. It is also laid down that the Parikaras consist of the Yādavas in Dvārakā and Mathurā, and of the Gopa-Gopīs in Vṛndāvana. Since they grow out of the Bhagavat as aspects of his Svarūpa-śakti, their resemblance to the

deity consists not only in the matter of divine qualities but also in temperament, dress and diversions ; they are however not equal but subordinate to the Lord, being his eternal servants and worshippers. The acts of Kṛṣṇa-Bhagavat, like birth, childhood etc. in the Līlā, resemble phenomenal acts, but they are not phenomenal because they are regarded as intrinsic to the divine self at the particular Līlā. The only reason for such a display of the Līlā as has a mundane form is that it causes great bliss to his devotees. It may be noted here that the Bengal School, in pursuance of this theory, maintains that Kṛṣṇa eternally appears as the son of Nanda and Yaśodā, as an aspect of his divine Līlā, without actually entering into the gross body and being born like a phenomenal being ; and that the form of Kṛṣṇa as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī is not identical with his form as the son of Yaśodā and Nanda. As the status of Vasudeva and Devakī as divine Parikaras was lower in respect of their devotion, Kṛṣṇa did not manifest himself to them in his sweet intrinsic form of a Gopa with two hands, but in the lower awe-inspiring form of Vāsudeva with four hands ; but he allowed himself to be taken to the place of Nanda and Yaśodā at Vṛndāvana where he assumed his real form.

If Kṛṣṇa is supposed to sport simultaneously and eternally at his three Dhāmas, viz., Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, and Dvārakā, how is it that his progression from Vṛndāvana to Mathurā, then to Dvārakā and finally to Goloka, is described in the sacred texts ? This is explained by the supposition that all this is described with reference to Kṛṣṇa's appearance in the Prakāṣa or Manifest Līlā in the phenomenal world, but the Aprakāṣa Līlā which is not revealed to the phenomenal world eternally goes on in three Dhāmas simultaneously. It is difficult to render the word Līlā into English, but since the word connotes the idea of inherent bliss and erotic sweetness (Mādhurya) in the Bhagavat's relation to his own Śaktis and excludes all ideas of conscious effort and ulterior motive in a mood of divine sportiveness, it may be provisionally, if inadequately, rendered by the word 'Sport'. This Līlā, sport or play, is nothing but the manifestation of the ecstatic principle of the divine self ; and the ideal presentation of this is the erotic principle of the Gopī-Līlā, which symbolically figures the realisation of the divine nature in its own divine energies or Śaktis. This Līlā or beatific sport may be Prakāṣa or Manifest and Aprakāṣa or Unmanifest, according as it can or cannot be apprehended by phenomenal beings. Both the Līlās are real, and as a matter of fact one and the same Līlā appears in the two-fold way on account of the limitations of the phenomenal Jīva. This theory is utilised for explaining that what appears as Kṛṣṇa's separation in one form of the Līlā may be union in the other form. Thus, at the termination of the Prakāṣa Līlā at Vṛndāvana it appears as if a separation occurred between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopa-Gopīs, but it really did not occur ; for he at once became united with them in the Aprakāṣa Līlā into which he entered simultaneously. In other words, union is an eternal fact in Kṛṣṇa's Aprakāṣa Līlā which goes on unimpeded in all the Dhāmas, but since it is sometimes hidden and sometimes manifested to the view of phenomenal beings, there are apparent separations and unions in the Prakāṣa Līlā. All this may

appear inconceivable to phenomenal beings, but all contradictions, like union and separation, have no essential validity in the perfect being; they are meant to produce a variety in the nature of the bliss in each manifestation. Thus, Kṛṣṇa's alleged return to Vṛndāvana from Mathurā, which is described in the *Padmapurāṇa* but which is obscure in the *Bhāgavata*, is explained by this theory as occurring in the Aprakaṭa Līlā.

The different Prakāśas or manifestations of Kṛṣṇa are each characterised by the different aspects of the divine self, such as aspects of Aiśvarya (power), Kāruṇya (compassion) and Mādhurya (erotic sweetness and beauty). In the manifestation at Vṛndāvana, all these aspects are said to be displayed, but, most of all, Mādhurya. Since Mādhurya is an expression of the highest Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat, and since it is prominent in the superlative degree in Kṛṣṇa's sports at Vṛndāvana, the highest and best manifestation of Kṛṣṇa is said to have occurred and still occurs at Vṛndāvana, which is thus the best of the Dhāmas and the true Goloka. As an expression of this Mādhurya Kṛṣṇa remains here eternally in his beautiful adolescent appearance (*kiśora-mūrti*), round which all his sports, both in the Prakāṭa and Aprakaṭa Līlā, centre, for his essential form consists in this manifestation of eternal youth and beauty.

The Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat is called Lakṣmī, who is represented as his divine consort and with whom he sports eternally. The Svarūpa-śakti of Kṛṣṇa as the Bhagavat in his various Dhāmas and Līlās are given as follows. In the two Dhāmas, Mathurā and Dvārakā, the general designation of the different aspects of the Śakti is Mahiṣī, given collectively to the sixteen thousand queenly wives of the royal Kṛṣṇa. Of these eight are his Paṭṭa-mahiṣīs or chief queens, and each of them represents symbolically one or other of the aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti, e.g., Satyabhāmā=Bhū-śakti, Yamunā=Kṛpā-śakti etc. Of these, again, Rukmiṇī, the most beloved, is Lakṣmī herself. In Vṛndāvana the appearances of Kṛṣṇa's Svarūpa-śakti are the Vraja-devīs or Gopīs, who are the special expressions of Kṛṣṇa's highest Hlādinī Śakti, and are therefore generally superior to the Mahiṣīs at Dvārakā and Mathurā. There are gradations, however, among the Gopīs, according to the various degrees of manifestation of the Śakti in them; and this is symbolised by the difference of their feelings for Kṛṣṇa as well as by the difference of Kṛṣṇa's own manifestation to them. These gradations are represented in the Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra as analogous to the various stages of human relationship conceived in the emotional aspect. Thus, Rādhā as the greatest beloved is said to represent, to the exclusion of other Gopīs, the highest stage of love, called Mahābhāva, and she is said to have obtained Kṛṣṇa in the fullest manner. The superiority of the Gopīs to every other beloved and Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa consists in the fact that in them is pre-eminently displayed the essence of the erotic sentiment or love, which in its turn is the essence of the supreme Hlādinī Śakti. On this account there is the highest realisation of the Bhagavat's bliss in them by which there arises the divine desire to sport with them. Among the Gopīs Rādhā is Lakṣmī herself and represents the highest degree of the supreme love, being identical with Kṛṣṇa's greatest attribute of bliss; and in this is to be found the symbolical interpretation of Kṛṣṇa's eternal amorous sports with Rādhā. Rādhā is taken as the

highest type of the Bhakta, the highest Parikara, as well as the closest consort of Kṛṣṇa, and thereby she represents the highest attribute of bliss which constitutes the very essence of divine selfhood.

The passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not, therefore, be viewed as mere Prākṛta-kāma or sensuous desire. If it is described as a display of conjugal love, this is only natural ; but this must be understood as Aprākṛta or non-phenomenal sport of the divine being with his own Śaktis, although it is similar in form to that of phenomenal human beings. The only exception is that in all these ecstatic sports, the desire of the Gopīs was never for their own pleasure and was meant exclusively for the supreme pleasure of Kṛṣṇa. In other words, the divine self realises itself in its own highest attributes, but the attributes themselves exist only for the divine self. In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa should display in his sport with his own Śaktis, viz, the Gopīs, supersensuous pleasure of a similar character, for the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss. The sex instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the mightiest human instincts, which finds a transfigured counterpart in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. We are also told that there is no reason to support the view that the Gopīs including Rādhā ever regarded Kṛṣṇa (in human emotional terminology) as their lover or Upapati, for they were his own (Svakiya) and he must be taken as their husband or Pati. Thus, the six Gosvāmins at any rate do not countenance the Parakīyā-vāda which developed at a later period in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

It has been already indicated that the Jīvas fall into two broad categories from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat, viz, those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness or Saṁskāra towards the Bhagavat, and those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed. The Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is disinterested worship, is the function which leads to a conversion towards the Bhagavat by counteracting the imposed aversion. The external Māyā-śakti can be counteracted by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, viz., his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a dormant state in the Jīva considered as Aṁśa of the Bhagavat, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti. The necessity of devotional worship is thus said to consist in the fact that it is a natural function of the Jīva as a potency of the Bhagavat. It would therefore be insufficient to describe Bhakti merely as a means ; for being the natural function of the Jīva, which brings about his highest and permanent bliss, it is an end in itself ; it is his highest duty (*parama-dharma*), his summum bonum (*parama-puruṣārtha*). The consummation of this Dharma or Puruṣārtha consists not in any desire for earthly or heavenly good but in contributing to the supreme pleasure of the deity by service and love. It is therefore characterised as Ahaitukī or Akiñcanā, i. e., it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect either in this world or the next than the pleasure of the Lord. The

Bhakti being the greatest good, those scriptures which speak of Bhakti are superior, and those which make no reference to the Līlā of the Lord are to be rejected. Of these again the supreme place of authority is accorded to the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is the almost exclusive scripture of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

The Bhakti as a mode of spiritual realisation occupies the highest place, because it supersedes and includes all the other modes of Jñāna, Yoga or Karma, which become redundant when Bhakti is attained. No doubt, the way of Jñāna leads to the realisation of the Brahma ; the Yoga with its practices is helpful for producing non-attachment to phenomenal objects ; the way of Karma consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness to the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of wordly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him ; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are therefore inferior to Śuddhā (pure) or Kevalā (exclusive) Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. The pure Jñāna leads to the Brahma and therefore brings incomplete realisation of a merely partial aspect of the Bhagavat ; it cannot immediately bring vision (Darśana) of the Bhagavat, which pure Bhakti alone can do. The Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to Śuddhā Bhakti ; but it is not necessary to resort to the former when the latter alone is sufficiently efficacious. If there is Bhakti, Jñāna will come of itself, for by realising the Bhagavat one necessarily realises his partial aspect of Brahma, which is attainable by Jñāna. Hence Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavad-Jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna but it also dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to Mukti or Mokṣa ; and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation, but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat even in that state. Thus the Vaiṣṇava theology of the Bengal School does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahma, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahma as an imperfect appearance of the Bhagavat ; but even the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti.

The Yoga is supposed to lead to a higher stage of realisation than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of Nirviśeṣa Brahma to the realisation of the more Sa-viśeṣa Paramātmān, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the highest Bhagavat ; for Yoga teaches the suppression of the distractions caused by the Māyā-śakti and the phenomenal world by *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* ; and the Jīva thereby regains its pure and tranquil state favourable for Bhagavad-darśana. Hence, the Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal School and is regarded as a variety of Bhakti. It is however regarded as a mode inferior to Śuddhā-Bhakti, because the latter goes a step further and conceives of the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of such emotional

personal relationship as *Dāśya*, *Sakhya*, *Vātsalya* or *Mādhurya*. But since all the good results of the *Yoga-mārga* accrue as a concomitant consequence of pure *Bhakti*, the way of *Yoga* becomes redundant where *Bhakti* is awakened.

The reconciliation of *Karma* and *Bhakti* is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of *Bhakti*. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end ; for it is maintained that the real objective of the Vedic injunctions regarding these duties is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer to forsake them ultimately. The final objects of *Karma* is to produce freedom from *Karma* (*Naiṣkarmya*), and this can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by the attitude of non-attachment (*anāsakti*) to the duties and abandonment of all desire for the fruits of action (*phala-tyāga*). But even such a method is useless unless it consists of the entire dedication of all the acts to the pleasure of the *Bhagavat*. The way of *Karma* thus becomes superfluous once this attitude of *Bhakti* is attained. But this does not mean complete inactivity ; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts and which are other than those prescribed by external rules, continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is obtained. If *Karma* is not productive of *Bhakti* it is valueless, just in the same way as *Jñāna* or *Yoga* is useless if it does not lead to the *Bhagavat* ; the *Karma* is useful in so far as it is a step to this ultimate end. These different ways are prescribed for different kinds of people, and each has its use ; but when *Bhakti* comes as the spontaneous expression of divine grace, all these are redundant. As an aspect of *Karma*, the separate or independent worship of deities other than the *Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa* is forbidden. The attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities is deprecated, but it is held that deities like *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* or *Brahmā*, who are merely *Gauṇa-Avatāras* of the *Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa*, can be worshipped only because they are themselves *Bhaktas* or partial aspects of the *Bhagavat*. For those who regard them as independent objects of worship there is the terrible curse of the sage *Bhṛgu* referred to in the *Bhāgavata* (iv. 2, 27-28).

The true type of the devotional feeling, known as the *Akairāvā Bhakti*, admits of two stages which are respectively designated as the *Vaidhī* and the *Rāgānugā*. The *Vaidhī* is so called because it arises from following the injunction (*vidhi*) of the *Śāstra*, the term *Śāstra* in this case meaning the *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures in general and the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* in particular ; while the *Rāgānugā* is independent of such external direction and follows the inclination of spontaneous inward feeling of attachment (*rāga*). The *Angas* or means of the *Vaidhī*, which are given as sixty-four in number, consist of acts and practices of piety, great or small, such as resorting to a spiritual guide (*Guru*) and initiation by him, dwelling in sacred places of pilgrimage, putting on the signs of a *Vaiṣṇava* and following the proper *Vaiṣṇava Ācāra*, associating with saintly persons, prostrate obeisance, walking round and worshipping the image of the deity in accordance with the prescribed rules of worship, repeating or singing the sacred names or formulas, listening to the reading of the *Vaiṣṇava* scriptures, partaking of the remains

of the offerings to the deity (Naivedya or Prasāda), observing the fast days, and so forth. The details of these devotional practices have been elaborately set forth by Gopāla Bhaṭṭa in his *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which compilation is a kind of a complete guide-book to the Vaidhī Bhakti. Of these various practices Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (*Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya. xxii, 125) distinguishes five as the most important, viz., the society of saintly persons (Sādhū-saṅga), the chanting or singing of Kṛṣṇa's name (Nāma-kīrtana), listening to the reading of the *Bhāgavata* which contains the Līlā of the Lord (Bhāgavata-śravaṇa), dwelling at Mathurā (Mathurā-vāsa) and worship of the Lord's image (Śrī-Mūrti-sevā), i.e., fellowship, song, scripture, pilgrimage and image-worship. But the element of the Vaidhī Bhakti are sometimes enumerated, in eleven broad categories, viz., (i) Śaraṇāpatti, or resorting to the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa as the only refuge (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide (iii) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the blessed form, sport and name of the deity, and not a mere mechanical repetition of set formulas and prayers (iv) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially the singing of the blessed name, which is said to be the best means of attaining the devotional attitude in this decadent Kali Age (v) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering and fixing one's thoughts on the name, form and sport of the deity (vi) Pada-sevā, or divine service, such as the act of seeing, touching, walking round, serving or following the procession of the divine image, as well as residence in temples and sacred places, pilgrimage, bathing in holy waters etc. (vii) Arcanā, or the overt act of worship, including various rites to be learnt from the Śāstra or from the Guru, this ceremonial worship being recommended highly to wealthy householders as the best means of spending their wealth (viii) Vandana, or act of homage, consisting of salutation (Namskāra) to the deity etc. (ix) Dāsyā, or actual service of the deity with the feeling that one is only a very humble servant of the deity, (x) Sakhya, the act of fellowship and (xi) Ātmanivedana, or the act of complete self-surrender and self-dedication to divine grace. It is also laid down that the Vaidhī Bhakti may be Ekāṅga or attainable by only one of the above modes (as illustrated in *Padyāvalī*, No. 53) or it may be Anekāṅga or attainable by more than one of these modes (e.g. the case of Ambarīṣa). It should also be noted that the Vaiṣṇava scriptures of the Bengal School attach a special importance to the supreme efficacy of the uttering of the blessed name. They maintain a theory of the real and eternal character of the divine name or names, following from the peculiar theological presumption of the essential identity of the name and the possessor of the name (*nāma-nāminorabhedah*); for the school believes that the divine name itself being supermundane (aprākṛta) has a spiritual significance and potency, and is a kind of Varṇa Avatāra of the deity.

But passionate souls soon pass beyond outward rule and form to an inner and more esoteric way of realisation based upon the cultivation of inward feelings of devotion. This leads us to the second type or stage, namely, Rāgānugā Bhakti, by which is meant the feeling of loving devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti eternally displayed by the divine Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the Śaktimat

Kṛṣṇa. As its name implies, it consists entirely of Rāga which is defined as the natural, deep and unimpeded excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards an object of desire or attachment. It indicates in the present case the spontaneous flow of the natural and deep devotion of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa who stand in particular emotional relationship to the deity as aspects of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmas. As these dear ones of Kṛṣṇa represent the different aspects of the deity's own attribute of bliss, the one and the same Hlādinī Śakti in its infinite potency reflects itself in the form of different Rasas or devotional sentiments in them, and results in different personal relationships (e. g., that of a son, relative, lover, friend, servant etc.) between the deity and his dear ones who are his own embodied energies. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationships, the varieties of sentiments (Rasas) thus reflected in the divine sport become types or stages of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, on the model of which the Rāgānugā Bhakti of the ordinary devotee proceeds as types or stages of the devotional sentiment. We have seen that the Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realisation of this character ; it is enough if the religious duties enjoined by Śāstric injunctions are performed as overt acts in an attitude of piety. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments by directing them toward Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, still an elaborate realisation or Sādhana-bhakti involving external effort ; for even if it is independent of mechanical Śāstric rules and depends entirely upon one's own emotional capacity of devotion, it is still engendered not of itself but by imitating the action and effort of those who are Kṛṣṇa's own. The different emotional states are achieved by Smaraṇa or recollection, by a concentrated imaginative process which is supposed to be more effective for a mystic union with the beloved object. As it consists of ardent mediation of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones in different emotional relationships, the devotee, living either physically or mentally in Vṛndāvana as a Sādhaka or Siddha, follows the ways of the Gopa-Gopīs in order to realise the same state of feeling as they feel, and adopts, according to his capacity or inclination, the particular Bhāva of the particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa, (e. g., the Bhāva of Rādhā, or of her Sakhīs, or of Yaśodā) even to an imitation of her dress (Veśa), sport (Līlā) or temperament (Svabhāva). It is thus an ecstasy of vicarious enjoyment in the sense that the devotee does not seek to establish a direct personal contact with the deity but prepares himself for it by imitating and realising within himself the different aspects of the beatific sports in terms of one or other of the blissful devotional sentiments ; and through years of constant practice he ultimately identifies himself with such sentiments. By means of his ardent emotion he seeks to visualise and make the whole Līlā of Kṛṣṇa live before him ; but he enters into it imaginatively, and by playing the part of the beloved of Kṛṣṇa he experiences vicariously the passionate feelings which belong to the role and which are vividly pictured in the Vaiṣṇava scriptures.

As an example of such a Sādhaka, Rūpa Gosvāmin himself is often mentioned ; and in Bengal Vaiṣṇava hagiology he is supposed to be an incarnation or appearance of Rūpamañjarī, a Sakhī in Vraja-līlā, whose Bhāva or sentiment Rūpa Gosvāmin is

said to have realised. We are told in the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* of Kavikarṇapūra (śl. 180-86) that of the various beloved Gopīs of Kṛṣṇa, Rūpamañjarī appeared in Caitanya-līlā as Rūpa Gosvāmin, Lāvaṇyamañjarī as Sanātana Gosvāmin, Ratīmañjarī as Raghunātha-dāsa, Guṇamañjarī as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, Rasamañjarī as Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa and Vilāsa-mañjarī as Jīva Gosvāmin. In this way a scheme of the reappearance of the Gaṇas of Kṛṣṇa is elaborated, in the work quote above, as Gaṇas of Caitanya. This conception of the prominent Vaiṣṇavas as the incarnation chiefly of the Gopīs of Vṛndāvana, as well as the general presentation of Bhakti as a type of erotic mysticism, is based probably on the doctrine which regards Kṛṣṇa as the sole male, and maintains that the devotee can fully realise passionate devotion, only when he conceives himself, in the highest stage of the Madhura or erotic Rasa, as a female taking part in the beatific sports. This is indeed a curious but logical development of the theory of the Rāgānugā Bhakti.

A further maturing of the two types of Sādhana-bhakti (Vaidhī and Rāgānugā) mentioned above, leads to what is called Bhāva-bhakti, which arises without any external aid or effort as an intimate personal feeling. This attitude may also develop independently through the grace of the deity. A further direct ripening of the Bhāva-bhakti brings in the highest conceivable type of Bhakti, viz., the Prema-bhakti or Prīti towards Kṛṣṇa as a personal god of love and grace.

Although orthodox Sanskrit Poetics, which concerns itself with the analysis of feelings and sentiments, would not regard this religious emotion (Bhāva) of Bhakti as capable of being developed into a sentiment (Rasa) in poetry and drama, the Vaiṣṇava theory approximates it to this supreme relish of aesthetic enjoyment or Rasa, and considers it as capable of being awakened in the same manner in the heart of the devotee, who takes the place of the literary connoisseur. For the working out of this novel idea of Bhakti as Rasa, the whole apparatus of orthodox Sanskrit Poetics is freely utilised and ingeniously applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Vaiṣṇava conception of the sentiment of Bhakti.¹ A new turn was thus given not only to the old Rasa-theory of conventional Poetics but also to the religious emotion underlying the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava faith, which was interpreted anew. Rūpa Gosvāmin himself has given us an elaborate exposition of the subject in his two works, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and its supplement *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, which, embodying what may be called the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, constitute a kind of rhetoric of Bhakti with all its appropriate psychology, conceit and imagery. The mediaeval conception of love is sublimated into a deeply religious sentiment by bringing erotico-religious ideas to bear upon the theme of the literary Rasa, especially the Erotic Rasa (Śṛṅgāra). If the mediaeval Troubadours of France and Italy conceived the love of Christ as an aspect of the Law and wrote a Grammar of the amorous sentiment, the mediaeval Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal conceived the

1. An account of the Bhakti-Rasa-śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, based chiefly on the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* and *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, has been given by the present writer in *IHQ*, VIII (1932), pp. 643-688.

love of Kṛṣṇa as an aspect of Psychology and wrote a Rhetoric of the erotic emotion. The literary Sahrdaya, as the recipient connoisseur, was replaced by the religious Bhakta, the devotee of nice sensibility; while the love of Kṛṣṇa was installed as the dominant feeling (Sthāyi-bhāva), which by means of its appropriate Excitant (Vibhāva), Ensuant (Anubhāva) and Auxiliary feelings (Vyabhicāri-bhāvas) could be raised to the supreme relishable condition of impersonal enjoyment in his susceptible mind as the Bhakti Rasa or devotional sentiment. Our poet rhetorician Rūpa Gosvāmin, who was also an ardent devotee, was eminently fitted for the peculiar task of outlining such a scheme by adapting the main ideas and technicalities of the literary Rasa to the theme of religious Bhakti as a Rasa. Not content with theoretical analysis, he also undertook the writing of a number of devotional poems and dramas and compiling the present Anthology of verses on Kṛṣṇa-līlā for the special purpose of illustrating his theme.

For a proper understanding of this Vaiṣṇava idea of Bhakti as a Rasa, as expressed in the literary and religious productions of the Bengal School, it would be desirable to appreciate this novel presentation of Bhakti as a psychological entity, as a literary-erotic emotion transmuted into a deep and ineffable devotional sentiment, which is intensely personal as a subjective feeling and which is yet relished as an impersonalised mental condition of disinterested joy. The attitude is a curious mixture of the aesthetic, the erotic and the religious, and the entire scheme as such is a curiously complicated one. We find here an enthusiasm, natural to the analytic scholastic mind, for elaborate and subtle psychologising, as well as for developing and refining in a new sphere the inherited rhetorical traditions; but the attempt is also inspired very largely by an antecedent and still living poetic experience (Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala), which found expression also in the vernacular poetry (Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa), as well as by the simple piety of popular religion, which reflected itself in the passionate and picturesque conceptions of such Purāṇas as the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, the fountain-source of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. But the ideas go further and rest ultimately on the transcendental in personal religious experience of an emotional character, which does not deny the senses but goes beyond their pale in a mood of mystic eroticism. As in its theology and philosophy, so also in its Rasa-śāstra, there is a curious combination not only of mythology and speculation, but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and the mystical,—a trait which characterises the entire religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

As we have already remarked, the process of the awakening of Bhakti, conceived as a Rasa, moves along the familiar grooves of Alamkāra ideas and expressions. The dominant feeling or Sthāyi-bhāva of Bhakti-Rasa is supposed to be Kṛṣṇa-rati, the feeling of Kṛṣṇa and his dear ones, which by means of its suitable Vibhāvas etc. is raised to a state of relish (*svādyatā*) in the mind of the Bhakta, who replaces the literary Sāmājika or Sahrdaya. The Excitants or Vibhāvas, which make the Sthāyi-bhāva of Kṛṣṇa-rati capable of being relished, are either Substantial (Ālambana) or Enhancing

(Uddipana). The former consists of Kṛṣṇa as the object (Viśaya) of the feeling and the Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta (Gopīs etc.) as the ground (Ādhāra) of the feeling ; while the latter includes such conditions of time, place and circumstance as serve to foster the feeling, e.g. Kṛṣṇa's qualities (Guṇas), exploits (Ceṣṭā), embellishments (Prasādhana) etc. The Ensuaunts or Anubhāvas, which follow and strengthen the feeling, comprise such outward manifestations as singing (Gīta), dancing (Nṛtya), rolling on the ground (Viluṭhita), profusion of sighs (Śvāsa-bhūman) etc. which are proper to the feeling excited. The Auxiliary feelings or Vyabhicāri-bhāvas, which are subsidiary emotions of more or less transitory nature, consist of the thirty-three orthodox Vyabhicāris which have been categorically accepted but given a new application. The Sthāyi-bhāva or the root-feeling of the Vaiṣṇava Bhakti-Rasa, as we have noted above, is taken to be the feeling which concerns Kṛṣṇa himself and which the Bhakta vicariously realises as his own, just as the literary Sahṛdaya relishes the aesthetic Rasa which concerns the hero in a literary composition. The orthodox nine Sthāyi-bhāvas are evaluated in terms of this idea. Against the nine orthodox Rasas corresponding to or resulting from the nine orthodox Sthāyi-bhāvas, twelve are elaborated in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra of which however seven (Hāsyā, Vīra, Adbhuta, Karuṇa, Raudra, Bibhatsa and Bhayānaka) are regarded as secondary. The remaining five, which are regarded as primary Rasas, are Śānta (Devotion as Quietism), Prīta or Dāsyā (Devotion as Faithfulness), Preyas or Sakhya (Devotion as Friendship), Vātsalya (Devotion as Parent, sentiment) and Madhura or Ujjvala (Devotion as the Erotic sentiment). Of these the last is supposed to be the best and highest sentiment.

These five broad categories of the devotional sentiment constitute the forms or gradations of emotional realisation conceived in terms of intimate human sentiments. This idea of a personal emotional relationship between the deity and his dear ones is indeed a fundamental postulate with the Bengal School, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of colourless identity, which cannot be posited in view of its peculiar theory of difference in non-difference. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such idea of personal relationship, but consists merely of the devotee's consciousness of his complete identity with the impersonal Brahma, is distinguished as inferior to the other four kinds of Bhakti. As it involves an amount of mental composure and spiritual meditation, it is not rejected entirely as a mode of realisation, but it is meant for those who are desirous of the lower objective of Mukti (and not Bhakti) in the impersonal Brahma. The first stage of real Bhakti, which is above any such motive and which exists entirely for the pleasure of the deity, is Dāsyā or the sentiment of servitude, which conceives the deity as the eternal master and his devotee as his eternal servant. The Hanumat, famed in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is taken as a type of such Bhakti. There are also two other states of affectionate relationship, viz., Sakhya or the sentiment of Friendship (e.g. Arjuna), and Vātsalya or the Parent-sentiment (e.g. Nanda-Yaśodā), until the climax is reached in the state of Mādhurya or pure erotic love, symbolised by the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. The nature of this passion for Kṛṣṇa, as conceived by the Bengal School, has already been discussed

above ; but it is worthy of note that the school maintains that this sentiment of the Gopīs can also be imitated and vicariously realised by the male devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage, the lordship of the deity (Aīśvarya) is said to be completely suppressed and superseded by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm (Mādhurya) which produces the strongest mutual attraction between the deity and the devotee.

As a corollary from the above theory, it follows that the Parikara or Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa, whose Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti occupies a high place in its scheme of devotion, is as important a person as even the deity himself ; for the Parikara or the Bhakta is regarded as an expression of the divine Svarūpa-śakti in its blissful or Hlādinī aspect, with whom the deity sports eternally in his Dhāmas. In the second part of his *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*, Rūpa Gosvāmin dilates on the subject of the Bhakta from the theological point of view, and lays down that to the Vaiṣṇava the adoration of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta is as indispensable as the adoration of Kṛṣṇa himself. He alone is the greatest Bhakta who is a Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa's Bhakta. Of Kṛṣṇa's Bhaktas, again, there is a gradation according to the quality and character of their devotion. Prahlāda is regarded as the chief among ordinary Bhaktas, but the Pāṇḍavas are greater than Prahlāda. Some of the Yādavas, again, are greater than Pāṇḍavas ; but of the Yādavas Uddhava is the foremost. The Gopīs of Vṛndāvana are greater even than Uddhava, who himself desired to possess the sweetness of their love for Kṛṣṇa. Of the Gopīs, again, Rādhā is the greatest, which conclusion indicates that there is no greater Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa than Rādhā who is the essence of his own Hlādinī Śakti.

This conclusion is also established from the point of view of the Rasa-śāstra. Of all the different phases of the Bhakti-Rasa, the erotic Madhura or Śṛṅgāra is regarded as the highest and the best, because the deity's highest attribute of the Hlādinī Śakti is exhibited here to the best advantage. The Madhurā Rati, underlying this Madhura Rasa, is said to be most capable (Samarthā) when, as in the case of the Gopīs, the inclination is entirely for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa, and it can go up to the highest stage of love called Mahābhāva, appropriate to Rādhā. In the case of the conjugal love of Rukmīṇī and other royal wives of Kṛṣṇa, where the enjoyment is supposed to be as much for Kṛṣṇa as for the wife herself, the feeling is said to be well proportioned (Samañjasā) ; but it is said to be general (Sādhāraṇī) when, as in the case of the Kujā, the enjoyment is entirely for the person herself. Again, the erotic feeling is said to reach different degrees of intensity according to its quality ; and these are successively (i) Prema, the germination of love (ii) Sneha, constant fondness (iii) Māna, effected repulse of endearment due to excess of emotion, giving rise to a variety of amatory feelings (iv) Praṇaya, friendly confidence and fellowship, (v) Rāga, erotic transmutation of sorrow into joy (vi) Anurāga, love as constant freshness, and lastly (vii) Bhāva or Mahābhāva, which is the supreme realisation of love as found only in the Gopīs and principally in Rādhā.

The Madhura Rasa may be twofold, according as it is Love-in-union (Sambhoga) and Love-in-separation (Vipralambha). The Vipralambha may take various forms : (i) Pūrvarāga, incipient love, or love upon first sight or first hearing or upon vision in

a dream (ii) *Māna*, resentment as a bar to the realisation of love (iii) *Prema-vaicittya*, apprehension of separation, through excessive love, even in the presence of the beloved (iv) *Pravāsa*, psychological effect of separation due to the absence of the hero gone abroad. The *Sambhoga* may be direct, or indirect (e.g. in a dream), and may be of four kinds according to its intensity, viz., Brief (*Samkṣipta*), Mixed with contrary feelings (*Samkīrṇa*) e.g. occurring after *Māna*, Developed (*Sampanna*) e.g., occurring after a near *Pravāsa*, and Complete and Excessive (*Samṛddhimat*) e.g. occurring after distant *Pravāsa*. The elements of *Sambhoga* are sight, touch, stealing of the flute, kissing, embracing etc. leading up to sexual union.

We have no room here to enter into the details of the analysis, but the various phases, moods, circumstances and conditions of the erotic sentiment are minutely classified, illustrated and applied to the case of *Kṛṣṇa*'s sport. The assistants in love-affair, for instance, the *Dūtas* and *Dūtīs*, after the manner of the affairs of the secular hero, are elaborately mentioned and classified. The various types of the hero and heroine, their amatory and other qualities, the conditions of time, place and other circumstances which evoke and foster love, the various stages of adolescence and youth, the gestures and expressions of the feeling and other relevant topics in connexion with the erotic sentiment are fully described, analysed and illustrated after the manner of treatment of orthodox Poetics. We have, for instance, the usual classification of the hero into the faithful whose love is centered in one (*Anukūla*), the gallant whose attention is divided among many (*Dakṣiṇa*), the Sly (*Śaṭha*) and the Saucy (*Dhṛṣṭa*); while the heroine, according to the diversity of her condition or situation in relation to the hero, may be the *Abhisārikā* who goes out to meet her lover at assignation, the *Vāsakasajjā* who adorns herself in expectation of the lover, the *Utkanṭhitā* who is disappointed by his non-arrival through some misadventure, the *Vipralabdhā* who is deceived of her expectation by deliberate unfaithfulness, the *Khaṇḍitā* who is outraged by the discovery of marks of unfaithfulness on the person of the lover, the *Kalahāntarītā* who is separated by a quarrel, the *Proṣita-bhartṛkā* who pines for the lover who has gone abroad, and the *Svādhīna-bhartṛkā* who has the lover under her absolute control. In the *Padmāvalī* all these types are illustrated with reference to *Rādhā* by verses cited from different authors; but for a detailed account of these topics one must refer to *Rūpa Gosvāmin's Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* which is devoted to a special enquiry and analysis of the *Madhura Rasa* in relation to *Kṛṣṇa* and his beloved *Gopīs*.

It will be clear from what is said above that the mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express religious longings in the language of earthly passion, forms one of the basic inspirations of *Caitanyaism*, in which it is seen in its full bloom. In the older *Bhakti* works like the *Bhagavadgītā* the mood of *Bhakti* is indeed presented as an ethical and mystical passion of an intensely personal character, rather than as an impersonal intellectual conviction adduced by mere knowledge; but the *Bhakti* there is more speculative than passionate. The *Bhakti* in the *Mahābhārata* in general is often explained by the analogy of the love of the wife for her husband, and the term *Bhakti*

itself in the later Śūtra of Nārada and Śaṇḍilya is made interchangeable with the terms Bhāva, Prīti or Anurakti as expressive of ardent emotion ; but the passionateness of earlier theistic devotionism was never entirely divorced from intellectual satisfaction or moral earnestness. Though not identical with it, knowledge was still accepted as a preliminary to the emotion of Bhakti, and action was not entirely excluded. The mediaeval expressions of the passion, however, dispense with Jñāna and Karma in the orthodox sense, and take their stand entirely upon mystical emotional realisation (Rasa). All worship and even salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of divine sports involving personal consciousness and relationship, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But in the emphasis given to the erotic sentiment involved in the sports of Kṛṣṇa, it borders definitely upon sense-devotion, and leans perceptibly and dangerously towards the erotic passion. The ultimate felicitous state is conceived as an eternity of enjoyment of the erotic sports of Vṛndāvana in which the faithful serve Kṛṣṇa as did the Gopīs ; and, however figuratively the doctrine may have been interpreted, the erotic emotionalism is essential and prominent. In the hands of these erotic emotionalists there is a fresh accession and interpretation of romantic legends ; and the Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa being brought to the foreground, the older epic figure of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa is transformed beyond recognition. The old epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion is replaced by a new spirit of mystical and theological fancy, of tender rapture over divine babyhood, and of sensuous and erotic passion of ecstasy over the loveliness of divine adolescence ; and its god is moulded accordingly. The essential truth of the doctrine of Vṛndāvana-līlā, no doubt, lies in its appeal for a more emotional religion and its protest against the hard intellectuality of the times ; and the whole theory of Bakti-Rasa appeals to the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity of human moods and sentiments. But here we have also a marked development of the dubious erotic possibilities of the theme in an atmosphere of highly passionate and sensuous life and literature. In Bengal Vaiṣṇavism the tendency goes a step further. It seeks to realise, in its theory and practice, what is supposed to be the actual passion of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover ; but the attitude becomes too ardent in tendency, and the emphasis laid upon eroticism lapses into a sensuousness of a refined and subtle type inasmuch as the mystical sensibility in this case is chiefly vicarious. The doctrine, no doubt, attempts to transfigure the mighty sex-impulse into a deeply religious emotion, but the way of realisation betrays abnormal mental state, which seeks the highest satisfaction in a vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of Kṛṣṇa, contemplated not merely in figurative but also in a vivid literal sense.

This fervent quasi-amorous attitude, in spite of its subtle and elusive juggling with psychological complexes and theological refinements, inspires not only its Śāstra and professedly devotional works, but it also enlivens its mass of resplendent Sanskrit and Bengali lyrics with the poetic possibilities of its mystical erotic impulse. The last reach of Vaiṣṇava Bhakti, transmuted in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism into

Prīti or Love, becomes an unfailing and rich source of literary inspiration, as well as of religious emotion; for it becomes personal in ardour, concrete in expression and sincere in appeal. Along with its theology and philosophy was produced a psychological rhetoric of the passionate condition, which reproduced indeed the classical phraseology, conceits and imagery, but whose erotico-religious application and subtilising of emotional details were novel, intimate and inspiring. Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, the literary gain was undoubtedly immense. These aesthetic and emotional conventions were implicitly accepted in the literary effusions, and they were often productive of marvellous results. In spite of the formalism of its psychological analysis, the banality of its rhetoric of ornament and conceits and the pedantry of its metaphysical sentimentalism, there can be no doubt that the inspiration supplied by the erotic emotionalism of the new faith to its prolific literature, especially its Bengali lyric literature, was of a deep and far-reaching character. Even the abstruse dogmas, formulas and shibboleths have had their effect on literary conception and phrasing, but there was an essentially human appeal in its religious attitude, which gave to its literary productions an enduring emotional and poetical value. The wistfulness, amazement and ecstasy of its devotional tendency and the richly romantic idealism of its mystical erotic sensibility lifted the lyric literature of Caitanyaism into a high level of passionate expression, which was endowed by the virtue of these very qualities with as much human as transcendental value.

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CAITANYA-WORSHIP AS A CULT

It is indeed a remarkable fact, that although the direct worship of Caitanya as a deity prevailed in the later history of the sect, the earlier Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism are entirely wanting in all reference to a distinct cult of Caitanya, and they nowhere inculcate directly such a worship. Their whole object is to establish that Kṛṣṇa is the exclusive object of worship not as an Avatāra but as a supreme deity of the faith; and they attempt to demonstrate this proposition by an elaborate system of interpretation of those older Purāṇic and sectarian texts that the Bengal School would accept as authoritative. But they make no similar attempt anywhere to establish the supreme godhead or incarnated divinity of Caitanya, probably because such an attempt would have hardly been consistent with their central position that Kṛṣṇa alone is the supreme god. They acknowledge Caitanya as an Avatāra or even as Kṛṣṇa himself, but they never try to reconcile this practical faith in Caitanya with their theoretical creed

regarding Kṛṣṇa. The whole theology or emotionalism of the religious system is deduced, more or less, from older devotional texts, chiefly from the *Srīmad-bhāgavata*, and we have no direct presentation of the gospel or personal teachings of its founder, nor any express theological claim regarding his supreme and exclusive divinity. The recognised theologians of the sect, the six Gosvāmins, are concerned principally with Kṛṣṇa-līlā in their serious works on theology or Rasa-śāstra and do not speak in the same way at all about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme.

It must not, however, be supposed that there is no reference at all to the divine personality of Caitanya or homage paid to it, but these passages occurring mostly in the poetical works or in the Namaskriyās only of the more learned treatises of the six Gosvāmins, do not make the position clear. Nor do they inculcate any such worship of Caitanya as obtained in the later history of the sect. Caitanya himself probably deprecated the natural tendency of his followers to deify him ; and even his most orthodox biography records in one place ¹ (but explains it away) that Caitanya on one occasion disclaimed his identity with Kṛṣṇa. But at the same time there can be no doubt that the belief that he was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa or even Kṛṣṇa himself certainly took form in his life-time among the six Gosvāmins, who were his immediate disciples, even though the strictly theological position involved in this belief was never discussed by them.

Some of the Sanskrit Stotras or Stavas which Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa wrote, clearly indicate this attitude. In the *Stavamālā* of the former Gosvāmin there are three opening Aṣṭakas in praise of Caitanya, although the rest of the work consisting of more than fifty separate Stotras describe in highly erotic imagery the different aspects of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa. In these three Aṣṭakas, however, which are called *Caitanyāṣṭakas*, the high panegyric of Caitanya forms the direct theme. In the first Aṣṭaka, we are told in one verse that the gods like Śiva, Brahmā and others worship Caitanya, who is the resting place of the Upaniṣads, the all-in-all of the sages, the sweet sentiment of devotion itself to his devotees and the very essence of love to the Gopīs,—epithets which imply an identification of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa himself. In another punning verse, which applies equally to Kṛṣṇa and to Caitanya, reference is made to the associates and followers of Caitanya, such as Advaita and Svarūpa, as well as to Gajapati [Pratāparudra]. Mention is also made of Caitanya's reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name, his ecstasy, his residence at the sea-side and the Saṅkīrtana processions led by him before the car of Jagannātha. The second Aṣṭaka refers, among other things, to the attitude of some deluded people who, overcome by demoniacal tendency (*asura-bhāva*), do not acknowledge Caitanya,² who is Kṛṣṇa in fair form (*akṛṣṇāṅga*), whose Yajña consists of Saṅkīrtana

1. *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya, xviii, 109-112.

2. The detractors of Caitanya are condemned in one whole section of 15 verses, entitled *Caitanyabhakta-nindā* by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's preceptor, in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*.

and whose human form is always overflowing with bliss in order to teach the doctrine of love and remove the sorrows of the world. It is noteworthy that the third stanza of this Aṣṭaka explains the fair complexion of Caitanya by the supposition that Kṛṣṇa, desiring to experience the sweet feeling of the Gopīs, concealed his own dark complexion by stealing the golden hue of his beloved. We shall see presently that this fancy led to the later elaboration of the doctrine that Caitanya is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Rādhā. The third Aṣṭaka addresses the son of Sacī directly as Mukunda, whose greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like [Vāsudeva] Sārvabhauma.³ Caitanya has revealed the great wealth of Bhakti-rasa which cannot be found in the Veda or the Upaniṣad and which was never divulged before in any other greater incarnations (*guruṭarāvatārāntare*).

In the *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha-dāsa, again, we have only the first two (out of about thirty Kṛṣṇaite) Stotras directly concerned with Caitanya. The first is an Aṣṭaka of the same type as those of Rūpa, while the second, consisting of 12 verses, is entitled *Gaurāṅgastava-kalpatarū*. The Aṣṭaka refers chiefly to Caitanya's life at Pūrī, his daily visit to the Jagannātha temple where he used to stand near the Garuḍa-column, the solicitous care of Svarūpa and the servant Govinda, his fits of frenzy at the Saṅkīrtana and his revealing of the Bhakti-doctrine which was inaccessible to the old sages and lay concealed in the Śruti. But the most remarkable statement occurs in the first verse which repeats the fancy of Caitanya's double incarnation by saying that Kṛṣṇa, having once fallen in love with his own beauty reflected in a mirror and desiring to taste his own sweetness as it was tasted by Rādhā, was born (*jātaḥ*) in Gauḍa in the one indivisible body of fair hue belonging to Rādhā who was his own (*aparagaurāika-tanubhāk*).⁴ In his Saṅkīrtana Caitanya has thus merely cited with delight his own sweet names (*mudā gāyannuccairnija-madhura-nāmāvalirasau*). The *Stava-kalpataru*, on the other hand, referring to Caitanya's life of devotion at Pūrī at the house of [Kāśīśvara] Miśra as well as to his Guru Īśvara Pūrī, his disciple Svarūpa and his servant Govinda, describes chiefly the ecstatic feelings of divine love which characterized the last phase of his life. It depicts Caitanya more as a Bhakta of passionate devotionism than as an incarnated deity; but since the *divyonmāda*, the state of divine frenzy, has been regarded in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-theology as the characteristic of the highest Mādana Mahābhāva of Rādhā,

3. The name of Sārvabhauma is specially mentioned not only because he was one of the foremost veteran scholars of the day but also because he also wrote a Caitanyāṣṭaka on which perhaps Rūpa's own Aṣṭakas were modelled. Ānandin quotes two verses from this work, one of which is again quoted as Sārvabhauma's by Sanātana and both of which are given as Sārvabhauma's in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (vi. 43-44).

4. This conceit also finds expression in Rūpa's *Lalita-mādhava*, viii. 32, where astonished Kṛṣṇa is enamoured of his own beautiful reflection on the jewelled wall and expresses a greedy longing to enjoy it like Rādhā (*sa-rabhasam upa-bhoktum kāmaye rādhikeva*); but there is no reference to Caitanya in this connexion.

there is possibly an implication here of the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya.⁵ In the Namaskriyā verse to his *Muktā-caritra*, however, Raghunātha does not refer to the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, but simply regards him as an Avatāra who took birth in the womb of Śacī in order to bestow upon this world the bright nectar of his own Bhakti,⁶ while in the body of the work itself, which deals with a fancied episode in Kṛṣṇa's career, no such reference occurs.

Although these poetical and passionate Stotras do not form a part of the regular theology of the school, they are yet composed by professed theologians; and in spite of their undoubtedly devotional character they are yet coloured a great deal by their sectarian beliefs. It is therefore interesting to note that, apart from inevitable embellishment and exaggeration, they acknowledge, even if they do not theologically propound, the divinity of Caitanya and even his identity with Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, not clear from these devout poetical utterances whether Caitanya was regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself or merely as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. Some passages, as noted above, incline to the former view, but the term Avatāra and its derivatives distinctly occur in other passages. It is, however, evident that here we have the definite suggestion, if not the elaboration, of the doctrine of double incarnation, which later writers developed with great delight. If Caitanya is to be regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself, it was found necessary to explain how Kṛṣṇa's dark colour became transformed in Caitanya into a golden hue. Again, Caitanya's ecstatic feeling of divine love for Kṛṣṇa in an almost feminine role of mystically erotic passion also required explanation. It was therefore imagined, in accordance with the Mādhurya theory of the school, that Kṛṣṇa, in order to relish the supreme taste of his own Mādhurya as it was relished by his most beloved Rādhā, assumed the feelings as well as the beauty of Rādhā, so that the two became one in Caitanya. It may be noted here that one of the most approved modes of devotional realization of this sect consisted of the practice of the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti, an emotional state in which the devotee imagined himself as one of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa and played that role in his longings for the deity. The orthodox records show that Caitanya himself probably began this practice, often imagined himself as Rādhā longing for her beloved Kṛṣṇa and tried to realize the same intense yearnings. We shall see presently that in this emotional practice of the Rādhā-bhāva he received support from Rāmānanda-Rāya. If it was a fact that Caitanya, for his emotional devotional purposes, imagined himself as Rādhā, it was only a step that he came to be regarded by his disciples as Rādhā herself incarnated. Rāmānanda's attitude, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, probably indicates this final

5. But this need not be presumed or read into it, for it is probable from all accounts that Caitanya practised the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti and imagined himself as Rādhā. Raghunātha may be referring to this fact without any such theological implication of Caitanya's Rādhā-incarnation.

6. *nijam ujvalitaṁ bhakti-sudhāṁ arpayitum kṣitau /*
uditaṁ taṁ śacī-garbha-vyomni pūrṇaṁ vidhum bhaje //

I. S. 4—18

shape which the tendency took ; and this conceit was undoubtedly strengthened both by Caitanya's fair complexion and his passionate ecstasies. The idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya was thus probably suggested by the Rādhā-bhāva, which his 'divine madness' for Kṛṣṇa typified, as well as by the theological necessity of furnishing an explanation of the appearance of a fair, instead of a dark, Kṛṣṇa. But the idea is only poetically suggested ; its theological implications never appear to have been fully worked out until Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja sets it forth much later as the view of Rāmānanda-Rāya in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

In the professed theological works of the earlier Gosvāmins, however, Caitanya is referred to only in the Namaskriyās, but nowhere else in the body of these elaborate treatises his divinity or incarnated appearance is either mentioned or discussed in the same way as the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. For reasons best known to themselves these recognized theologians of the sect and authors of systematic treatises have not, except in their brief Namaskriyās, made any reference to Caitanya. While the personality and the direct spiritual realizations of the Master are silently passed over, Jīva Gosvāmin, who has given an exposition of the entire philosophy and theology of the sect in his stupendous six *Sandarbhās*, has not uttered a single word about the Caitanya-concept in itself, as well as in relation to the Kṛṣṇa-concept, with which latter concept he appears to be entirely occupied. Rūpa and Sanātana in their two *Bhāgavatāmṛtas* consider with great devotional and scholastic acumen the question of Avatāra, but they have in this connexion made no reference, either direct or illustrative, to Caitanya. Just as the Kṛṣṇa-concept has to be traced and established in the light of Bhāgavata texts, so it was necessary that the Caitanya-concept in a similar manner should find a distinct place in the authoritative philosophic and theological compendiums of the sect. If Jīva thought it necessary to write an elaborate *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*, he never thought it necessary for some unknown reason to write a similar *Caitanya-sandarbha*. This remarkable omission has, no doubt, been made good by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his scholastic biography of Caitanya, but Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology on this point is clearly the theology of a later date, was anticipated no doubt by the six Gosvāmins but never clearly expressed. Even in the collection of Stotras mentioned above, written by the professed theologians of the sect, we have only four (out of nearly one hundred) separate poems which are devoted to the glorification of Caitanya, the rest setting forth in highly sensuous language and imagery the various phases of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The realization of the Līlā or divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa indeed formed the central creed which Caitanya himself is reported to have emphasized by the erotico-religious emotionalism characterizing his own devotional career. But this Līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is considered by the Gosvāmins only as set forth by the Bhāgavata texts and not as directly realized by Caitanya, only in itself and not in relation to the Caitanya-līlā, even though they regard Caitanya as the first founder of the emotional creed.

We find the same attitude in the dramatic and Rasa-śāstra works of Rūpa Gosvāmin. One might expect that the systematic exposition of the emotional aspects of the creed in

the *Rasa-śāstra* should, by way of illustration at least, make some reference to Caitanya's own realization of this supreme emotion as a *Rasa*, but as a matter of fact this is never done either here or in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Bhakti* and *Prīti-sandarbhāṣa*; and wherever illustrations are drawn they are all cited from the older *Purāṇas* and not from the newer living exemplification of the doctrines in Caitanya himself. The *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa is even remarkable in not containing the usual *Namaskriyā* to Caitanya, although there is a *Namaskriyā* addressed to Rūpa's elder brother and master Sanātana; while in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* Rūpa pays only in one verse⁷ his homage to the lotus-feet of Caitanya-deva who is Hari, and acknowledges the emotional inspiration which has stimulated even an insignificant person like himself to undertake the task. Turning to Rūpa's dramatic works, which appear to have been purposely composed to illustrate the emotional aspects of the faith, we find that they are entirely devoted to the treatment of certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā on the basis of the *Purāṇic* tradition. The *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which was probably his earliest dramatic attempt, contains even no express *Namaskriyā* to Caitanya but opens with two descriptive *Namaskriyās* to Kṛṣṇa. The *Sūtradhāra*, however, describes in the third verse the frenzied ecstasy of an unnamed *Bhakta*, which is probably drawn after Caitanya's example. The work itself, on the other hand, sets forth a supposed episode in Kṛṣṇa's amorous career, which is not found in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* or *Gīta-govinda*, but which certainly became popular in mediaeval times as the *Dāna-līlā* and formed the theme of the *Dāna-khaṇḍa* of Caṇḍīdāsa's earlier Bengali *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, as well as of many a later Bengali song and poem. In the two other dramatic works of Rūpa, entitled respectively *Vidagdha-mādhava* and *Lalita-mādhava*,⁸ Kṛṣṇa is presented as the *Vidagdha* and the *Lalita Nāyaka* respectively of the erotico-religious sentiment, emphasizing in turns the *Aiśvarya* and the *Mādhurya* aspects of Kṛṣṇa's legendary career. The last named work opens with a suitable *Namaskriyā* to Kṛṣṇa, but the fourth verse pays homage to Caitanya, the son of Śacī, without however directly identifying him with Kṛṣṇa. But the second verse of the first work gives us a remarkable *Namaskriyā* to Caitanya which is often quoted as expressing the author's views about the founder of the sect to which he belonged. Imperfectly translated into English it runs thus :

Let the son of Śacī shine in the hollow of my heart, the Hari, who is lighted up by an assemblage of lustre lovelier than that of gold, and who in his compassion descended at last in the Kali Age in order to bestow that wealth of his own *Bhakti* which was never bestowed before and which consisted of the exalted sentiment of love or *Ujjvala-rasa*.⁹

7. *hr̥di yasya preraṇayā pravartito'haṁ varā'ko'pi /*
tasya hareḥ pada-kamalaṁ vande caitanya-devasya //

8. The titles are obviously on the model of Jayadeva's descriptive naming of each section of his *Gīta-govinda*.

9. *anarpitacarim̐ cirāt karuṇayāvatīrṇaḥ kalau*
samarpayitum unnatojjvala-rasāṁ sva-bhakti-śriyaṁ /

In this verse which is similar to, but more definite than, the Namaskriyā verse already cited above from Raghunātha-dāsa's *Muktā-caritra*, Rūpa Gosvāmin states quite expressly his belief of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa ; but it also appears that the son of Śacī was regarded by him as an Avatāra in the Kali Age (*avatīrṇaḥ*) for the special purpose of teaching, by his own example, the secrets of Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is of course meant the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment which the Rasa-śāstra of this school established as the highest sentiment of Bhakti.

Rūpa in this attitude appears to follow the views of Sanātana whom in more than one verse he reverently addresses as his master or Prabhu. The third Namaskriyā verse of Sanātana's *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta* makes it clear that Sanātana, like Rūpa, regarded Caitanya not so much as the supreme deity of the faith as the ideal devotee-incarnation, the Bhakta-Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, who was incarnated as the fair-hued ascetic son of Śacī for the purpose of himself relishing his own sweetness as it was relished by his own greatest devotee. It says : ¹⁰

Victory be to this son of Śacī, the Hari here in the dress of an ascetic, bearing the lustre of gold and the name of Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who having sweetly contemplated from his own feelings the feelings of his own beloved towards himself, descended out of greed (to taste them) in the form of a Bhakta or devotee.

It should be noted that the word 'greed' (*lobha*) employed in this verse is probably meant, as the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* shows,¹¹ that Sanātana regarded Caitanya's rapture as an example of the Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti. If the nameless running commentary to this work is by Sanātana himself, he speaks, in his own explanation of this verse, of Caitanya as the Bhakti-rūpa Avatāra,¹² the Parama-guru, the dearest Avatāra of Śrī-bhagavat (*śrī-bhagavat-priyatamāvatāra*), who spread the sentiment of Bhakti consisting for the most part of the Saṅkīrtana of his own name (*nija-nāma-saṅkīrtanaprāya-bhakti-rasa-vistāraka*). Elsewhere in the same commentary he makes his views quite clear by

*hariḥ puratā-sundara-dyuti-kadamba-sandīpitah
sadā hṛdaya-kandare sphuratu vaḥ śacī-nandanah //*

10. *sva-dayita-nija-bhāvaṃ yo vibhāvya svabhāvāt
sumadhuram avatīrṇo bhakta-rūpeṇa lobhāt |
jayati kanaka-dhāmā kṛṣṇa-caitanya-nāmā
haririha yati-veśaḥ śrī-śacī-sūnureṣaḥ //*

11. See my article on the Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in *IHQ*, viii (1932), pp. 651-52.

12. In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 10-11) a classification of the stages or hierarchy of Bhakta-rūpa (Caitanya), Bhakta-svarūpa (Nityānanda), Bhaktāvatāra (Advaita), Bhakta (Śrīnivāsa and others) and Bhakta-śakti (Gadādhara) is elaborated ; but this appears to be a further scholastic development of fine distinctions. It is difficult to say if Sanātana wanted to imply any such distinction between Bhakta-rūpa and Bhakta-avatāra, for he appears to use the terms indiscriminately.

saying ¹³ that the *Gopī-bhāva* was admitted in this particular *Avatāra* for the purpose of revealing the special excellence of *Prema-bhakti*. The belief is further indicated briefly in the *Namaskriyā* ¹⁴ to *Sanātana's Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāga-vata*, where he pays homage in almost similar phraseology to the *Bhagavat Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya*, who is full of compassion and who became an *Avatāra* in *Gauḍa* for the purpose of propagating *Prema-bhakti*. It is also noteworthy that these passages appear to accept the implications of the theory of dual incarnation of *Caitanya*, even if they do not expressly state it. But *Ānanda* in his commentary on *Prabodhānanda's Caitanya-candrāmṛta* attributes an eulogistic verse to *Sanātana*, which distinctly gives expression to this idea by saying that since the love of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa* is an expression of the blissful divine attribute (*Hlādinī Śakti*), it divided itself formerly in this world, in spite of its essential identity, into two forms, but the two have now attained a unity, called *Caitanya*, which is identical with *Kṛṣṇa* but which is diversified by the brightness of the state of *Rādhā*.¹⁵

These verses, no doubt, reveal an attitude of adoration which verges almost upon worship, but theoretically the *Gosvāmins* do not maintain any such worship of *Caitanya* as they insist upon in the case of *Kṛṣṇa* who alone, in their view, is the supreme deity of the faith. They appear to regard *Caitanya* more as an *Avatāra*, the *Bhakta-Avatāra par excellence*, the *Kṛṣṇa* incarnated as *Rādhā*, as it were, for a special purpose. It appears therefore that *Caitanya-worship* had not yet become a definite creed with these immediate disciples of *Caitanya*. This is even more evident from *Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which is the most authoritative compendium of *Vaiṣṇava Ācāra* of the sect. The eighteen out of twenty *Namaskriyās* to the twenty chapters of this work express the author's deep reverence for *Caitanya* and apply to him such eulogistic epithets as the *bhagavat*, *jagad-guru*, *ananta-abdhuta-aiśvarya*, *tīrthottama*, *maḥāścarya-prabhāvaka*, but there is nothing in them that does not apply, for instance, to one's *Guru*; and it is remarkable that nowhere is *Caitanya* directly identified with *Kṛṣṇa* or even spoken of as an incarnation. The contents of the work appear to confirm and support this attitude; for it is significant that this elaborate authoritative text on the ritualism of the sect gives no direction for the worship of *Caitanya* or his image, although

13. *yadyapi śrī-caitanya-devo bhagavad-avatāra eva, tathāpi prema-bhakti-viśeṣa-prakāśanārthaṁ svayamavatīrṇatvāt tena tadarthaṁ svayaṁ gopī-bhāvo vyajyate* (on śl. I).

14. *vande śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaṁ bhagavantaṁ kṛpāmayam / prema-bhakti-vitānārthaṁ gauḍeṣvavatatāra yaḥ //*

15. *rādhā-kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛtiḥ hlādinī-śaktirasmād ekātmānavapi bhuvi purā deha-bhedaṁ gatau tau / caitanyākhyam prakāṣamadhunā tad-dvayaṁ caikam āptaṁ / rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-śabalitaṁ naumi kṛṣṇa-svarūpam //*

This verse is also cited by *Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja* anonymously at the commencement of his *Caritāmṛta*.

it deals elaborately with the every-day service as well as the temple-ritual connected with Kṛṣṇa and his image.

There can be no doubt that the determinative creed of the Bengal sect was that Kṛṣṇa alone is the Bhagavat or the only and most perfect god. As the trend of their exclusively Kṛṣṇaite hymns, dramas and poems, as well as Śāstric works which have Kṛṣṇa as their only theme, should indicate, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa, adhere firmly to this creed. But this position, once accepted, would logically exclude every other claimant from the highest divine honour. It was therefore not possible from the strictly theoretical point of view to make an explicit declaration of what these personal disciples of Caitanya practically believed, namely, that Caitanya, like Kṛṣṇa himself, was the supreme deity of the creed. This inconsistency could be only reconciled by supposing, as they do suppose, that Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being of endless incarnations made his descent in the Kali Age in the form of Caitanya, but that he assumed the fair form as well as the fervid feelings of Rādhā, uniting in himself, for the particular purpose of relishing his own divine bliss, the two incarnated forms (to use a theological phrase) of the Śakti and the Śaktimat in a kind of identity in non-identity. The Gosvāmins have taken great pains to demonstrate that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat and not an incarnation, but they never make any attempt in the same way to demonstrate the creed in the case of Caitanya; for to avoid inconsistency they had to acknowledge that Caitanya was an incarnation, even if a unique incarnation, of Kṛṣṇa.

The theory of double incarnation, however, is not elaborated by the six Gosvāmins, but we can see from what is said above that the germs of the idea are already contained in the fanciful suggestions scattered throughout their poetical, if not in their theological, writings. We have already remarked that the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya is attributed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to Rāmānanda-Rāya whom Caitanya is said to have met on the banks of the Godavari during his South Indian pilgrimage. It is possible that some such tradition existed, for Rāmānanda is called a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava by Kavikarṇapūra. But Rāmānanda's existing dramatic work, entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha*, the theme of which is the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, makes no reference to Caitanya at all and does not bear out the allegation. The attribution of Sahajiyā tendencies may have originated from Rāmānanda's admiration and close imitation of the frankly sensuous lyrics of Jayadeva, whom the Sahajiyās claim, rightly or wrongly, as their Ādi-guru and one of the nine recognized Rasikas. But our knowledge of Pre-caitanya Sahajiyā cult is so meagre that it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. It is remarkable, however, that Kṛṣṇadāsa's account for the first time wants to emphasize that after Caitanya met Rāmānanda, the Rādhā-bhāva in Caitanya became intensified, as if Rāmānanda revealed him to himself. From this time also commenced Caitanya's deep appreciation of Jayadeva's erotic mysticism which he is said to have constantly utilized in Rāmānanda's company at Puri. Before this meeting Caitanya appears in his Navadvīpa career chiefly as an incarnation of or identical with Kṛṣṇa, but after the meeting he is held

more and more to be the embodiment not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā. The closing years of his life at Puri, where Rāmānanda was one of his constant companions, are said to have been characterized by what is regarded as the highest emotion of the devotional state, namely, the Madana Mahābhāva of Rādhā. That association with Rāmānanda apparently formed a turning point in Caitanya's career of Bhakti is indicated also by the report of Kṛṣṇadāsa that it was the spiritual insight of Rāmānanda which revealed to Caitanya that he had, for the purpose of realizing his own divine nature, usurped the complexion and devotional spirit of Rādhā in the present Avatāra.¹⁶ We are further told that it is to Rāmānanda alone, and to no other associate or follower, that Caitanya revealed himself in the united form of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.¹⁷

On the other hand, Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, who was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's preceptor, makes direct use of this doctrine in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*. This work, consisting of a series of 146 devotional lyrics in praise of Caitanya, may not be a recognized work of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, but it has been held in great esteem. In this work, Prabodhānanda appears to regard Caitanya as one of the greatest Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa (śl. 1 and 7), who descended to earth in the womb of Śacī for propagating the sprit of Bhakti unrevealed even to great sages of old (śl. 18). In one whole section (the tenth) of 21 verses he speaks of the greatness of the Caitanya-Avatāra, although it is maintained that he is not a partial incarnation (Amśa-Avatāra) like the Fish, the Boar and other incarnations of past ages (śl. 141). At the same time there are other passages which seem to indicate that Prabodhānanda believed Caitanya to be the Īśvara (śl. 37) and Hari himself (śl. 41, 57). The author, who was more a devotee than a theologian, does not appear to possess any exact theology; but whatever might be his belief or theology on this point, there is no doubt that his work is one of the earliest which directly inculcates not only adoration but worship of Caitanya.¹⁸ He also seems to be aware of the idea of Caitanya's dual

16. *rādhikār bhāvakānti kari adhikār |*
nija rasa āsvādite kariācha avatār ||

17. *tabe hāsi prabhu nija dekhāla svarūp |*
rasarāj mahābhāb dui ek rūp ||

There appears to be no recognition of this doctrine in the earlier Bengali biography of Caitanya by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The Nāgara-bhāva of Caitanya, emphasized by Locana-dāsa's Bengali biography, apparently develops the idea of Kṛṣṇa-incarnation in a different direction, and has hardly any connexion with the thesis of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya. Jayānanda, the other Bengali biographer of Caitanya, generally steers clear of all such theological subtleties.

18. But Prabodhānanda's pupil Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as we have seen above, hardly lends any support to such a cult. It is possible that although the ascetic Prabodhānanda was apparently older than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, having been his uncle and preceptor, his conversion to Caitanyaism may have taken place later when such a cult was gaining ground, and his work consequently may be of a later date; or this view may have been his personal belief.

incarnation. He tells us (śl. 13) that in Caitanya we have the form of Kṛṣṇa united with that of Rādhā and bearing the beauty of the interior of a full-blown golden lotus.¹⁹ He therefore addresses Caitanya (śl. 43) as the fair-complexioned lord of the Gopīs manifested in the Kali Age.²⁰

It appears therefore that in this charming fancy of the Caitanyaite poet-devotees, most of whom were also the recognized theologians of the sect, an ingenious explanation was found of the golden hue of Caitanya's body, which would have been dark as Kṛṣṇa's had it not been for the Rādhā-element. As it appears from the works of the Gosvāmins, it was at first, more or less, a devotional poetical fancy; but it was soon developed into a fundamental doctrine, and it is probable that from this theory originated the common epithet, Gaurahari, of Caitanya, with an evident pun on the word *gaura*, which makes the appellation mean at the same time 'Gaura who is Hari' and 'the fair-complexioned Hari'.

The conception of the dual incarnation was, therefore, not unknown to the original Gosvāmins, but its theological implications are not found systematically developed until we come to the time when Bengali Caitanyaite works, which in course of time almost superseded the earlier Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism, came to be composed. We find it set forth in its full-fledged form in the Bengali theological biography of Caitanya written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja about 1615 A.D. We need not consider here in detail this later theological elaboration of the idea, but the process of Caitanya's elevation from single to double incarnation, as we have already noted, can be traced in the account which Kṛṣṇadāsa records. Although there are many passages in which Kṛṣṇadāsa speaks of Caitanya as an Avatāra, the ideal Bhakta-Avatāra with the mission of Prema-Bhakti, yet he expresses in unambiguous language his belief that *śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya prabhu svayaṁ bhagavān*, thus employing to the case of Caitanya the technical theological expression *svayaṁ bhagavān* which had been hitherto applied to Kṛṣṇa alone. In Kṛṣṇadāsa's time Caitanya-worship apparently became an accomplished fact.²¹ This zealous biographer of Caitanya's, who also appears to have been a trained

19. *vibhrat kāntiṁ vikaca-kanakāmbhoja-garbhābhirāmam /
ekībhūtaṁ vapuravatu vo rādhayā mādhayasya //*

20. *kalau prakāṣa-gaūra-gopīpatiḥ*, with an obvious pun on the word *gaura*.

21. Some of the immediate disciples of Caitanya like Narahari-Sarkāra and Vamśīdāsa appear to have believed in their own way in the worship of Caitanya's image. In the *Vamśī-śikṣā* of Vamśīdāsa we are told that Vamśīdāsa, being convinced by means of a vision that he should propagate the worship of Caitanya's image, carved an image out of the wood of the tree under which Caitanya was born. It is also said elsewhere that Pratāparudra of Orissa had a life-sized image of Caitanya made some time before his death, but since there is no independent evidence that Pratāparudra was even a convert to Caitanyaism, the authenticity of this story is doubtful. In any case, these are isolated and sporadic instances and do not bear witness to any theoretical establishment of Caitanya-worship as a cult.

theologian in the school of his acknowledged Gurus Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, spares no pains to demonstrate, with a wealth of theological texts and arguments, Caitanya's essential identity with Kṛṣṇa, laying down emphatically that there is no other greater Tattva in the world than Caitanya who is Kṛṣṇa (*na caitanyāt kṛṣṇajjagati para-tattvaṃ paramiḥ*). Kṛṣṇadāsa therefore takes upon himself the task of analysing the Caitanya-concept and thus supplying an important omission of the previous theologians of the sect. He achieves this end chiefly by applying to the case of Caitanya all the divine attributes and energies of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa which had been elaborated by his predecessors and which have been discussed from the theological point of view by Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*. Some writers even go further, and, identifying Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa, evolve a series of Caitanya's Parikaras and Pārṣadas parallel to those of Kṛṣṇa, so that each associate and follower of Caitanya becomes from this point of view an incarnation of the various associates and followers of Kṛṣṇa.

It is not necessary to consider here the arguments by which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja establishes his position, but what is interesting for us here to note in his analysis of the Caitanya-concept is the further development of the theory of dual incarnation, in which he finds one of the principal theological justifications of the advent of Caitanya. In applying the characteristics of the already established Kṛṣṇa-concept to the analysis of the Caitanya-concept, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to maintain that the latter concept may be regarded as a supplement to the former. The motiveless attribute of divine bliss is the *raison d'être* of Caitanya-līlā as it is of Kṛṣṇa-līlā; but while in the latter case the supreme deity enjoys the bliss as the subject (Āśraya), in the former case the bliss is enjoyed both as the subject (Āśraya) and the object (Viṣaya). In other words, Kṛṣṇa the Śaktimat in his Vṛndāvana-līlā enjoys the bliss arising from his association with his Śakti, Rādhā, but he does not enjoy the bliss, which Rādhā realizes, as inherent in himself. In the Caitanya-līlā, therefore, he combines the roles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who have separate and real existences in spite of essential identity in the supreme but hitherto unattained divine unity of the subject of bliss.²² The display of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādinī Śakti), therefore, is supposed to receive a further development in Caitanya than in Kṛṣṇa. The difference is merely a difference in the particular Līlā or divine sport, resulting in Caitanya's adoption of the complexion and feelings of Rādhā, as well as those of Kṛṣṇa, for a greater realization of the blissful attribute, but it does not affect Caitanya's intrinsic divine selfhood as Kṛṣṇa. The doctrine of the inscrutable

22. It is curious, however, to note that in the later hagiology of the sect Caitanya's intimate friend and follower Gadādhara is regarded as an incarnation of Rādhā and the Śakti of Caitanya (*Gaura-gaṇodeśa*, śl. II), while this honour is not accorded to either of the two wives of Caitanya. It is not denied that Caitanya is Rādhā, but since Caitanya is also Kṛṣṇa, his Śakti from this aspect is Gadādhara. As Ānandin puts it: *svayaṃ śrī-rādhikā eka-prakāśena śrī-caitanyenābhinnā, prakāśāntareṇa gadādhara-paṇḍita-svarūpā* (on *Caitanyacandrāmṛta*, śl. 118). See *IHQ.*, viii (1932), p. 652, f.n. 12.

Bhedābheda, which is peculiar to the school, applies also here between the Kṛṣṇa-concept and the Caitanya-concept ; for there is identity so far as the intrinsic divine nature is concerned, but there is a difference in the character of the divine sport.

But other theological difficulties were also perceived and had to be reconciled. In the orthodox Purāṇa lists of Avatāras and direct advents of the deity, Caitanya is not expressly mentioned, but his descent has to be presented as a case of fulfilled prophecy in order to bring conviction to the mind of the unfaithful. Then again, there is a *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* text (xi. 8. 13) ²³ which apparently informs us that Kṛṣṇa appeared in the three earlier ages in three different complexions respectively, viz., White (Śukla) in the Satya, Red (Rakta) in the Tretā and Golden-yellow (Pīta) in the Dvāpara Age, but it further adds that now, i.e. apparently in the Kali Age, he appears as dark-blue Kṛṣṇa. But the same *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* tells us elsewhere that the god is dark-blue in the Dvāpara (*dvāpare bhagavān śyāmaḥ*, xi. 5. 25), so that the two statements appear to contradict each other. To reconcile this conflict, it is maintained by an ingenious interpretation of the texts that the intention really is to indicate that the deity appeared as dark-blue in Dvāpara and not as golden-yellow, which must be the colour, as evident from Caitanya's complexion, suitable to the Kali Age. In this connexion both Rūpa and Jīva employ (without indicating that it is a quotation), as a part of their respective Namaskriyās to their *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Tattva-sandarbha*, the following verse which occurs also in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (xi. 5. 29) :

*krṣṇa-varṇam tviṣākrṣṇam sāṅgopāṅgāstra-pārṣadam /
yajñaiḥ saṅkīrtana-prāyairyajanti hi sumedhasaḥ //*

The verse has been explained by Śrīdhara, without any particular sectarian colouring, as applying generally to Kṛṣṇa ; but both Rūpa and Jīva, as well as Sanātana in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, appear to take the verse as predicting in particular the advent of Caitanya in the Kali Age. According to Śrīdhara's explanation the verse emphasizes the pre-eminence of the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra in the Kali Age.²⁴ The phrase *krṣṇa-varṇam*, in his opinion, apparently refers to his dark colour, and the phrase *tviṣākrṣṇam* is interpreted in two ways by disjoining the word differently, viz. (i) in effulgence he is not dark (*tviṣā akrṣṇa*) as he is dark in complexion, but shines like a bright sapphire (*indranīla-maṇivad ujñalam*), or (ii) in his bright divine presence he is Kṛṣṇa (*tviṣā krṣṇam*), meaning that in the Kali Age he is pre-eminently the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra. According to Śrīdhara, again, the word *aṅga* in the verse refers to Kṛṣṇa's beautiful limbs, *upāṅga* to his natural embellishments like Kaustubha, *astra* to such weapons as Sudarśana, and *pārṣada* to his retinue consisting of Sunanda and others. The word *yajña* need not, in his view, refer to anything more than general worship (*arcanā*), and the word *saṅkīrtana* need not in the same way be taken in any narrow

23. *āsan varṇāstrayo hyasya grhṇato'nuyugam tanuḥ /
śuklo raktastathā pīta idānīm krṣṇatām gataḥ //*

24. *anena kalau krṣṇāvatārasya prādhānyam darśayati.*

technical sense but should be interpreted generally as meaning the reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*nāmoccāraṇa*) and praise (*stuti*).²⁵

For those who see in this verse an anticipation of Caitanya's advent, it is not difficult to interpret it accordingly. Such methods of interpretative ingenuity are not unknown in Sanskrit mediaeval theology or philosophy; and such feats are comparatively easy in a language like Sanskrit which affords special facilities regarding the large number of meanings which may be assigned to particular words, the different modes of splitting up compounds and the diverse ways in which the syllables comprising a word or a sentence can be disjoined. It is quite natural therefore for the predisposed Bengal Gosvāmins to find in this verse a prophecy of Caitanya's appearance and press it into sectarian service. Accordingly, they agree in splitting up the phrase *tviṣākrṣṇam* only in one way, viz. *tviṣā akrṣṇam* 'in brightness not dark' and making it refer to Caitanya's bright and fair complexion; while the phrase *krṣṇavarṇa* is supposed to refer to the citation of the syllables (*varṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa's name by Caitanya, although the more subtle Jīva appears²⁶ to think that the phrase refer to the fact that Caitanya was inwardly Kṛṣṇa himself (*antaḥ krṣṇa*) but outwardly Gaura or Caitanya, fair in complexion (*bahirgaura*, with the usual

25. Even if Saṅkīrtana here be supposed to mean the peculiar Vaiṣṇava mode of singing Kṛṣṇa's name, the occurrence of the word in this passage in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* only indicates, apart from any sectarian interpretation, that the mode was fairly old, at least older than Śrīdhara who accepts this passage as genuine. If this is correct, then the Saṅkīrtana is probably not such an innovation introduced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism as it is often supposed to be, although it must be admitted that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism first realized its possibilities and made it into an effective mode of propagating Bhakti.

26. This verse is explained at some length by Jīva at the beginning of his *Sarva-saṁvādinī* Anuvyākhyā to his *Tattva-sandarbhā*. The prose passage at the commencement of this explanation gives us the relevant context that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* verse eulogises Caitanya, to whom an eulogistic reference is also made. In this reference of his, Jīva Gosvāmin appears to believe that Caitanya in the Kali Age is an Avatāra worthy of worship by the Vaiṣṇava, that he is the presiding deity of his own Sampradāya, that by his descent he spread the current of loving devotion for the Bhagavat, and that his Bhagavad-bhāva has been well established by the insight of endless believers in the Bhagavat. This is high praise indeed, but it is not clear if Jīva attempts here at all to establish that Caitanya himself is the Bhagavat, as he has in his *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbhā* taken pains to establish that Kṛṣṇa himself is the Bhagavat. On the other hand, Jīva appears inclined to accept Caitanya as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. The only other reference that Jīva makes to Caitanya occurs in the Namaskriyā to *Gopāla-campū* and *Saṅkalpa-kalpadruma*. In both these works he employs the same Namaskriyā which comprehensively includes in one Anuṣṭubh verse homage to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Saṅātana, Rūpa, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and his own father Vallabha, and which can also be interpreted so as to apply exclusively to Kṛṣṇa. The theme of both these works is of course Kṛṣṇa-līlā. In his *Harināmā-mṛta-vyākaraṇa* there is a Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but not to Caitanya.

pun on the word *gaura*), with an implied allusion to the Prakāṣa and Aprakāṣa aspects of the divine sport. All interpretations of the Bengal School, however, agree that the *saṅkīrtana-prāya yajña* in the verse undoubtedly refers to the new mode of emotional worship by loud singing, music and dancing which the school made so popular. They also agree that the rest of the verse means that in this Līlā, Caitanya had for his weapons (*astra*) only his companions like Nityānanda (*aṅga*), associates like Advaita (*upāṅga*), as well as followers like Gadādhara and others (*pārṣada*). What value this interpretation in itself may be judged to possess, there can be no doubt that it has an important bearing on the practical creed of Caitanyaism. But it is at the same time somewhat extraordinary that, apart from such passing references in the Namaskriyās and poetical effusions, neither Rūpa, Sanātana nor Jīva in the body of their elaborate and voluminous theological writing ever discusses, amplifies or illustrates the question from the point of view of this important bearing.

It is clear, however, from what has been said above, that the earlier Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism implicitly accept Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, even if they explicitly declare only his Avatāratva ; and to explain this identity they indulge in the mystical devotional fancy of the dual incarnation of Caitanya. The accepted theory is that Kṛṣṇa's dark colour and the form of a Gopa sporting in Vṛndāvana-līlā are real and eternal, being essential and intrinsic to his divine selfhood ; but here, in Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa has apparently manifested himself differently. Here we have none of the mighty divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa but only the rapture of erotic mysticism. These facts present theological difficulties which have to be explained. They are explained by this curious fancy of the external Rādhā-incarnation containing in itself the internal Kṛṣṇa in essence. This fancy became a creed in the next generation, and the cult of Caitanya-worship became an inevitable result. It would seem strange indeed that these devout minds should exercise themselves so much on the question of colour and complexion, but this is in perfect accord with the scholastic spirit of the age as well as with the theological position of the school. The colour and complexion of Kṛṣṇa was regarded as a part of his divine essence, and any anomaly in this direction in his subsequent appearance had to be scholastically explained. The task of the later writers was to establish the supreme godhead of Caitanya, and all the theological difficulties arising out of the sacred authoritative texts must be settled by the proper scholastic method. The fact of Caitanya's fair complexion and display of ecstatic feminine emotions, which were absent in the legendary Kṛṣṇa, thus gave an opportunity of establishing as a doctrine the theory of dual incarnation, which was indeed suggested but not fully developed by the recognized earlier authorities of Caitanyaism.

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THE DOCTRINE OF AVATĀRA (INCARNATION) IN BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

Of the six Gosvāmins of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, the two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, who were immediate disciples of Caitanya, as well as their nephew Jīva, give us an interesting exposition of the Avatāra-doctrine of the sect in their learned Sanskrit works, which form the original authoritative sources of its fundamental tenets. Sanātana deals with the subject, in his *Brhad-bhāgavatāmṛta*, in the poetical form of an imaginary narrative, composed in the style of the Purāṇas ; but Rūpa sets it forth, in his *Laghu-or Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta*, in the more systematic manner of a Śāstric compendium, supported by illustrative passages from various Vaiṣṇava scriptures. Jīva, who elaborates the entire speculation of Caitanyaism in his six learned *Sandarbhas*, mainly follows the indications of Sanātana and Rūpa, and attempts to supply a theological justification of the doctrine. All these three Gosvāmins profess to derive their ideas from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, which is the chief and almost exclusive scripture of Caitanyaism ; but in reality they treat the subject in their own way, even if the theory in its general outline is a further development of older theories.¹

It is not necessary here to take into account the poetical account of Sanātana referred to above, for its doctrinal implications are stated in a more precise form by Rūpa in his *Saṃkṣepa*. The latter work by its title purports to be a summary of the former, but it is also a largely original treatise, being a convenient epitome of the principal theological dogmas of the school. The most important part of its treatment, however, is concerned with the doctrine of Avatāra in relation to the deity and the devotee. One of the most fundamental doctrines of Caitanyaism is that Kṛṣṇa as the supreme personal god of the cult is not an Avatāra but the divine being himself in his essential character. Rūpa, therefore, begins his work by discussing the essential selfhood or Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa, which forms one of his principal themes, and in this connection he deals with the different manifestations and appearances of the deity.

The Svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa is defined and classified in three aspects :

1. Svayaṃ-rūpa, which is not dependent on anything else (*ananyāpekṣi*), i.e., self-existent (*svataḥ-siddha*).

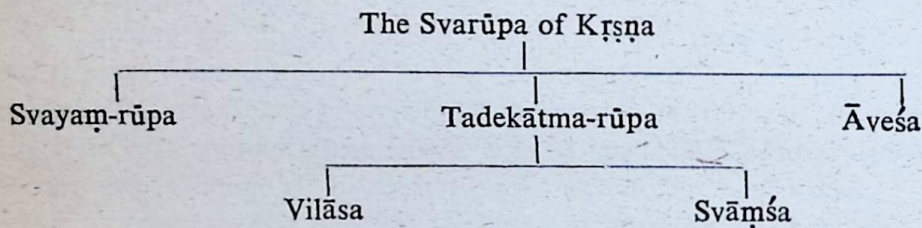
1. On the subject of Avatāra in general, see Jacobi's article on Incarnation (Indian) in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vii, pp. 193f ; on the Avatāra-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata*, see Grierson in *Ind. Ant.* 1908, p. 273, footnote, and M. Dasgupta in *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 74-77 ; for later development of the doctrine see Schrader's *Introduction to the Pañcarātra* and Grierson, *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 624-29. Our references to Sanātana's and Rūpa's work are to the respective texts printed in Bengali character by the Radharaman Press, Berhampore, and published at Murshidabad. For Jīva's *Sandarbhas* our references are to the text published by Śyāmalāla Gosvāmin, Calcutta 1900, in Devanagari character.

2. Tadekātma-rūpa, or hypostatic manifestation which is identical in essence and existence with the Svayaṃ-rūpa, but seems different by its appearance (*ākṛti*), attribute (*vaibhava*), etc. This manifestation may be either (a) Vilāsa, which is of equal power with the Svayaṃ-rūpa (*prāyeṇātmāsamaṃ śaktyā*), e.g., Nārāyaṇa who is a Vilāsa of the highest Vāsudeva (later cult would regard Nityānanda as a Vilāsa in Caitanya-līlā) and (b) Svāmśā, which is inferior in power (*nyūna-śakti*), e.g., Saṅkarṣaṇa or the Matsya.

3. Āveśa, which consists of appearance in the 'possessed' forms of inspired men and prophets, into whom the deity enters through Śakti, Jñāna, Bhakti etc. Śeṣa is cited as an example of Śakti-āveśa, Sanaka of Jñāna-āveśa, and Nārada of Bhakti-āveśa.

The Prakāśa or mere appearance is not considered in the above classification. It occurs when one and the same form appears at the same time as many, which are really identical in essence (*tat-svarūpa*), e.g., Kṛṣṇa at Dvārakā appearing at the same time in the rooms of all his 16,000 wives, as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, x, 69, 2. The deity, who is two-handed (*dvi-bhuja*), sometimes appears as four-handed (*catur-bhuja*): this must be regarded as a mere Prakāśa.

It must be noted that these forms are not Māyika or produced by illusion, but that they are real and eternal (*nitya-rūpa*). The classification mentioned above may be represented thus in a tabular form :



Usually the Svāmśā and Āveśa forms appear as Avatāras, the Svayaṃrūpa appearing only once in the Dvāpara Age as Kṛṣṇa. These appear as if in a new form (*apūrvā iva*), either by themselves (*svayaṃ*, e.g., in its self-manifestation as Tadekātma-rūpa) or through some other means (*dvārāntareṇa*, e.g., through a Bhakta like Vasudeva). The commentary explains that the phrase 'as if in a new form' implies that the deity exists at the same time in his essential eternal form. The *raison d'être* of an Avatāra is *viśva-kārya* or work of the world. The Avatāra is thus a partial descent or appearance in the world of the supreme deity with the object of performing some action in the world, either through or without the medium of a phenomenal being. The term *viśva-kārya* is not explained by Rūpa Gosvāmin, but Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa explains it as signifying manifold cosmic action or action done in the world (*viśvarūpaṃ. viśvasmin vā yat kāryam*), which consists of (i) the process of creation by a disturbance of the equilibrium of Prakṛti, followed by the evolution of Mahat etc. (*prakṛti-kṣobha-mahadādyutpādanam*), (ii) increasing the delight of the gods and other beings by suppressing the wicked (*duṣṭa-vimardanena devādīnāṃ sukha-vivardhanam*), and (iii) propagating the bliss of divine

love among the expectant devotees and spreading pure Bhakti (*samut-kañṭhitānām sādhakānām premānanda-vistaraṇam viśuddha-bhakti-pracāraṇam ca*).

The Avatāras may appear in various forms, and they are classified generally into three groups. The obvious object of this classification is to gather together all the Avatāras who are spoken of in legends or pious texts as having appeared or will appear in the world, and unify them as Vaiṣṇava manifestation of the supreme Kṛṣṇa. These three general groups are :

1. *Puruṣa-Avatāras*. The first Avatāra is Puruṣa, who, though unconditioned, becomes the conditioned creator. This Puruṣa appears in threefold aspect : (i) as the creator of the Mahat (*mahataḥ sraṣṭṛ*), who is known as Saṅkarṣaṇa the Kārṇodaka-śāyin, (ii) as existing in the cosmic egg (*aṇḍa-samsthita*), who is named Pradyumna the Guṇodaka-śāyin and (iii) as existing in all beings (*sarva-bhūta-sthita*), who is called Aniruddha the Kṣīroda-śāyin. This is really a modification of the older Vyūha-doctrine of the Nārāyaṇīya, which doctrine however is referred to independently later on (p. 205f).

2. *Guṇāvatāras*. These are Avatāras according to the three Guṇas, of which they are the respective presiding deities : viz., Brahmā as creator (Rajas), Viṣṇu as protector (Sattva) and Śiva as destroyer (Tamas).

3. *Līlāvatāras*. The character of this Avatāra is not defined but these forms have been declared by the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, i, 3. They are twenty-four in number as follows : (1) Catuḥsana, i.e., the four 'Sanas', who in four forms are really one, viz., Sanaka, Sanandana, Sanātana and Sanatkumāra, who appeared as Brāhmaṇa ascetics to propagate Jñāna and Bhakti, (2) Nārada, the author of the Sātvata Tantra, (3) the Varāha, four-legged (*catuṣpād*), but also two-legged according to some (*dvipād*), (4) the Matsya, (5) Yajña, (6) Nara and Nārāyaṇa, (7) Kapila, (8) Dattātreyā, (9) the Hayaśīrṣa, (10) the Haṃsa, (11) Dhruvapriya or Pṛṣṇigarbha, (12) Rṣabha, (13) Pṛthu, (14) the Nṛsiṃha, (15) the Kūrma, (16) Dhanvantari, (17) the Mohinī, (18) the Vāmana, (19) Bhārgava (Paraśurāma), (20) Rāghava, (21) Vyāsa, (22) Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, (23) the Buddha and (24) Kalkin. These are also the Kalpa-Avatāras, as they appear in each Kalpa.

The Manvantara-Avatāras. At each of the fourteen Manvantaras there is an Avatāra who destroys the enemies of Indra and becomes the friend of gods. They are in their order : (1) Yajña, (2) Vibhu, (3) Satyasena, (4) Hari, (5) Vaikuṇṭha, (6) Ajita, (7) Vāmana, (8) Sārvabhauma, (9) Rṣabha, (10) Viśvakṣena, (11) Dharmasetu, (12) Sudhāman (13) Yogeśvara and (14) Brhadbhānu. Of these, Hari, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita and Vāmana are the chief (Pravara).

The Yugāvatāras. A Yugāvatāra flourishes at each of the four Yugas. They are according to their individual names (*nāma*) and colour (*varṇa*) : in Satya-yuga, Śukla (white), in Tretā, Rakta (red), in Dvāpara, Śyāma (dark) and in Kali, Kṛṣṇa (black).

In each Kalpa these Avatāras become fourfold in accordance with the condition of Āveśa, Prabhava, Vaibhava and Paratva, which are now explained. The word Āveśa literally means 'entering into' or 'possession'. The Āveśa-Avatāra has already been mentioned ; but this kind of Avatāra (of which examples are the sages Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., Nārada and Pṛthu) is merely *aupacārika*, i.e., they are not real Avatāras but Avatāras by analogy ; because here the Lord enters into a particular Jīva and thus exalts him into an Avatāra. Even Kalkin (or Kalki) is supposed by some theologians (e.g. in *Viṣṇudharma*) as belonging to this order. The two terms Prabhava and Vaibhava practically mean the same thing, viz., power, but probably differ in the degree of the significance. This class of Avatāras is identical in essence with the supreme deity (*svarūpa-rūpa*) and are so called according to the degree of their Śakti or power (*śaktiṇām tāratamyena*) but they are inferior to the Para or Parāvastha Avatāra (*parāvasthebhya ūnakah*). The Prabhava-Avatāras may again be classified according as (i) their appearance does not endure for a long period of time (*nāti-cira-vyakta*), or (ii) their not having an extended reputation (*nāti-viśruta-kīrti*). The examples of the first kind are the Mohinī, the Haṃsa and Śukla, who disappeared as soon as their work was finished ; the examples of the second variety include Śāstrakāra ascetics as Dhanvantari, Rṣabha, Vyāsa and Kapila. The Vaibhava-Avatāras are the Kūrma, the Matsya, Nārāyaṇa with Nara, the Varāha, the Hayaśīrṣa, Pṛśnigarbha, Balarāma, and the fourteen Manvantara-Avatāras beginning with Yajña.

Each of these Āveśa, Prabhava and Vaibhava Avatāras has a place of habitation of his own in a particular Loka. Thus the Kūrma lives in a lake in Mahātala, the Matsya in a lake in Rasātala, Nara and Nārāyaṇa in Badarī, the two-legged Varāha in Maharloka, the four-legged Varāha in Pātāla, the Hayaśīrṣa in Talātala, Pṛśnigarbha above the Janaloka of Brahmā, Balarāma in the same place as occupied by Kṛṣṇa (although his partial manifestation or Aṃśa named Saṅkarṣaṇa lives in Pātāla), Vaikuṇṭha in Svargaloka (but also in Vaikuṇṭha-loka which he himself discovered), Ajita in Dhruvaloka, Trivikrama (who is distinguished from the Vāmana) in Tapoloka and the Vāmana in Bhuvārloka. But all the Avatāras live in a lower region than Paravyoma or Mahāvaikuṇṭha, the highest paradise of the supreme being. This is given in accordance with the *Viṣṇudharmottara*. The Bengal School, however, does not seem to possess any definite cosmology of its own, but follows the *Bhāgavata*, *Padma* and other Purāṇas indiscriminately.

In this connection the author briefly discusses the alleged Avatāratva of Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, and Nārāyaṇa, the twin-brother of Nara. This allegation, however, is not, in his opinion, acknowledged by learned people.

The Parāvastha is described in the Śāstras as the Para or complete state (*sampūrṇāvastha*), for these Avatāras possess all the six Aiśvaryas and are comparable to a lamp lighted from the original lamp (*dīpād utpanna-dīpavat*). They are the Nṛsiṃha, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

With regard to the Nṛsiṃha the author cites the authority of the *Bhāgavata*, *Padma-purāṇa* and Śrīdhara (who is known to have been a worshipper of the Nṛsiṃha Avatāra).

The Avatāra is described in full in the *Nṛsiṃha-tāpanī Upaniṣad*. The Nṛsiṃha lives in Janaloka ; but also in Viṣṇuloka. Rāma lives in Ayodhyā and in Mahāvaiṣṇava. Some (e.g. *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*) are of opinion that the four Vyūhas (Vāsudeva, etc.), were incarnated in Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, etc. ; but according to the *Padma-purāṇa*, the process of incarnation was as follows : Rāma=Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmaṇa=Śeṣa, Bharata=the disc Sudarśana of Nārāyaṇa and Śatrughna=the Pāñcajanya conch-shell of the deity. Kṛṣṇa, according to the *Purāṇas*, lives in four places, viz. Vraja, Mathurā, Dvārakā and Goloka.

In this connection the author discusses the question whether Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha can be regarded as Parāvastha-Avatāras of equal grade with Kṛṣṇa. A Viṣṇupurāṇa text is quoted, which equalises Rāvaṇa, Hiraṇyakaśipu and Śiśupāla, who were hostile respectively to Rāma, the Nṛsiṃha and Kṛṣṇa, and informs us that the first two of these did not attain Sāyujya emancipation because they lacked true Bhakti for the deity. But other texts are cited to show that Kṛṣṇa is the deity himself (*bhagavān-svayam*) and not an Avatāra. Rāma and the Nṛsiṃha have, no doubt, equal character or Svabhāva with Kṛṣṇa, but they do not possess the distinctive qualification of bringing emancipation to the enemy that is slain (*hatāri-gati-dāyaka*) ; for while Śiśupāla was finally emancipated, Rāvaṇa and Hiraṇyakaśipu had to suffer rebirth. Although all these Avatāras are perfect (*pūrṇa*) there is yet a difference in excellence according as all the Śaktis or Energies of the Lord find expression in them or not. An Aṃśa is that Avatāra in which the all-powerful expresses only a part of his infinite power, while a Pūrṇa-Avatāra occurs where all the powers are fully manifested. Although the Śakti is the same in the case of a lamp and a heap of fire for burning down a house, there is yet a difference in their respective virtue of bringing delight by the removal of cold, etc.

A modification of the much older Vyūha-doctrine is next mentioned by our author (pp. 205f). The four Vyūhas in their order of emergence are given as :

Saṅkarṣaṇa presiding over Ahaṃkāra,
Vāsudeva presiding over Citta,
Pradyumna presiding over Buddhi,
Aniruddha presiding over Manas.

The author refers to the fact in the *Nārāyaṇīya*,² that Pradyumna is presented as presiding over Manas, and Aniruddha over Ahaṃkāra, but the above view, in his opinion, is supported by all Pañcarātra scriptures. The four arms of Hari are said to represent the four Vyūhas. In some Sātvata Tantra, we are told, there is an enumeration of nine Vyūhas,³ viz., Nārāyaṇa, the Nṛsiṃha, Hayagrīva, the Mahāvarāha and Brahmā,

2. On the older Vyūha-doctrine in the *Mahābhārata*, see Barnett, Introduction to his English translation of the *Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 52-55 ; Miss Mrinal Dasgupta in *IHQ*, 1932, pp. 68f. For later development of the dogma, see Schrader, *Introduction to the Pañcarātra*, pp. 35f.

3. Also referred to in Jīva's *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbhā : Sāttvatām bhāgavatānām Vāsudeva*-I. S. 4—20

in addition to the four mentioned above ; but the four appear to be the original and generally accepted Vyūhas. The Vyūha-doctrine is accepted by our author from these older sources, but its exact bearing upon the theology of his own school is not clearly explained. It appears, however, that the school does not accept fully the older position that each of these Vyūhas is a cosmic spiritual evolute or creative emergence in successive order, parallel to the order of cosmic material evolutes of Ahaṁkāra, etc. ; but it would regard each of the Vyūhas (Vāsudeva, etc.) as independent creative manifestation of the primal Paramātman-Puruṣa Avatāra of the supreme being, each having (as already explained) a distinctive character and habitation of his own, like every other kind of Avatāra. Nor can each of these, in the opinion of the Bengal School, be regarded as corresponding to the series of cosmic material causation like Ahaṁkāra, Manas and Buddhi, which are, in its theory, the result of the extraneous Māyā-Śakti (and not of the essential and inherent Svarūpa-Śakti) of the Bhagavat, and which are therefore non-conscious (*jaḍa*) evolutes. In other words, these Vyūha manifestations are aspects of the Puruṣa-Avatāra of the Bhagavat, who do not correspond but apparently have presiding functions over the creative evolutes of Ahaṁkāra, Manas etc.

The author next attempts to remove the erroneous view sometimes propounded that Kṛṣṇa is Vāsudeva, the first of the four Vyūhas. He maintains that Kṛṣṇa is not an Avatāra but the deity himself, who is greater than Vāsudeva ; for Vāsudeva is merely an aspect of the Puruṣa-Avatāra for creative purposes. Every other form or manifestation is Amśa-kalā, but Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Bhagavat himself. This position is supported by a series of Purāṇa texts, which establish that, inasmuch as there is an excess of qualities, especially of the quality of Mādhurya, Kṛṣṇa is superior in turns to Brahman, Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa, and consequently to all other deities, Vyūhas and Avatāras. In this connection the *Gopāta-tāpanī* is cited as one of the greatest authorities. It is noteworthy that the Bengal School admits the reality practically of all deities mentioned in the Śāstras, as well as of all Vyūhas, Avatāras and other forms of manifestations testified to by the Purāṇas ; but it denies their alleged superiority to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is *par excellence* the only supreme deity ; the other deities are there, but they are inferior to Kṛṣṇa and even derive their existence from him. Jīva Gosvāmin, for instance, states in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbhā* that Brahmā is the first Bhakta of Kṛṣṇa but Śiva, being described in the scriptures as an ideal Vaiṣṇava, is greater than Brahmā, while Lakṣmī, who is the foremost embodiment of the teaching of Bhakti, is greater than Śiva, and is therefore admitted into the highest companionship (*parama-sakhya*).

The question as to how the Unborn can be born is answered by the mystical dogma of incomprehensible power (*vaibhava*) and by metaphor that although the fire remains hidden in the fuel, it comes into existence by friction. The cause of divine manifestation is found in the theory of grace or Prasāda, which the deity vouchsafes to his faithful

Saṅkarṣaṇa-Pradyumnāniruddha-Nārāyaṇa-Hayagrīva-Varāha-Nṛsiṃhā-Brahmāṇa iti yā nava mūrtayah.

devotee as an aspect of his inherent divine Śakti, with whom the deity is eternally engaged in a motiveless sport (Līlā) of bliss (*hlādinī*).

Then the author proceeds to discuss this Līlā or divine sport of Kṛṣṇa, which is a display of his inherent divine Energy or Śakti in the form of divine self-realisation. This topic is further elaborated in the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmin in its philosophical aspect ; but here the dogma is barely stated and supported by authoritative texts. The Līlā as an aspect of divine Śakti or Energy is real and eternal (*nitya*), whether it is manifest (*prakāṣa*) or unmanifest (*aprakāṣa*). Hence also are Kṛṣṇa's forms (*mūrtis*) and Avatāras real and eternal. His Prakāṣa Avatāra-līlā, i.e., his manifest descent and sport, in its real and eternal character, is the result of his grace or Anugraha to the world, and he shows himself in the way in which his faithful devotee wishes to see him. As the Līlā is *nitya*, his true Bhakta even to-day sees Kṛṣṇa sporting in Vṛndāvana. His qualities or Guṇas are not *prākṛta* or phenomenal, because he is beyond the sphere of the three *prākṛta* Guṇas of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. It is for this reason that he is sometimes called Nirguṇa or attributeless. In reality he is Saguṇa, not in the phenomenal sense, but in the sense that his attributes are real, non-natural or supersensuous (*aprākṛta*), being an essence of his inherent self (*svārūpabhūta*). Hence his form (*Rūpa*) and name (*Nāma*), his greatness (*Aiśvarya*) and his associates (Pārśadas), etc. have through his display of Līlā a supersensuous reality, although in his essence he is formless (*a-rūpa*), nameless (*a-nāma*) etc.

That the Kṛṣṇa-līlā is real and eternal is laid down in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures. The Līlā, which is a display of the divine Śakti, is of two kinds, viz. Prakāṣa or manifest, and Aprakāṣa or unmanifest ; the one is cognisable in the external world (*prapañca-gocara*), the other is not. In the Prakāṣa-līlā Kṛṣṇa seems to go to and fro from Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and Dvārakā, but in the Aprakāṣa-līlā he stays eternally in Vṛndāvana, which he never forsakes as his eternal habitation. Here he sports with one Gopī (*gopyaikayā*) and appears as Dvibhuja, although elsewhere he is sometimes Caturbhuja. At Vṛndāvana he is Kṛṣṇa but at Mathurā he becomes Vāsudeva while at Dvārakā he manifests his Pradyumna and Aniruddha forms,—which theory is a curious mystical attempt to reconcile the old Vyūha theory with the new Kṛṣṇa legend. His birth as the son of Devakī appears in his Prakāṣa-līlā, but in his Aprakāṣa-līlā he is the eternal son of Yaśodā. In the Prakāṣa-līlā there is an apparent separation from Vṛndāvana, but during all this time he is in his Aprakāṣa-līlā really in union there with his beloved ones. This union is of two kinds, viz. Āvirbhāva and A-gati. The Āvirbhāva occurs when he appears to his dear ones who long for him during separation ; e.g. at the time of Uddhava's message, Kṛṣṇa appeared in Vṛndāvana, although he lived apparently in Dvārakā. When to prove the genuineness of his promise and to show his love to his dear ones he comes in his chariot to Vṛndāvana, it is called A-gati ; e.g. the advent as described in *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* x. 39, 33f. Thus by means of his manifest and unmanifest Līlā he remains at the same time in the three places, Vṛndāvana, Mathurā, and Dvārakā. His habitation is in reality twofold, viz., Vṛndāvana and Dvārakā, the former again being twofold, viz. Vṛndāvana

and Mathurā. The Goloka or the highest paradise of the deity is really a Vaibhava, or display of Śakti, of Vṛndāvana itself. In all these places his Līlā is *nitya*, but Vṛndāvana is the best because here he lives eternally in all his glory and sweetness. This sweetness or Mādhurya consists of his power (*aiśvarya*), his sport (*krīḍā*), his flute (*veṇu*) and his personal appearance (*mūrti*), all of which exist in fullness in Vṛndāvana.

Following these general indications of Sanātana and Rūpa, Jīva Gosvāmin deals with the doctrine of Avatāra in his *Śrīkṛṣṇa-sandarbha*. The main theme of this Sandarbha is to maintain the central position of Caitanyaism, viz. that Kṛṣṇa, who is the highest personal god of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, is not an Avatāra or incarnate being but he is the deity himself in his perfect form as the Bhagavat. It was, therefore, found necessary to discuss in this connexion the character of the Avatāra in relation to the essential self-hood of the deity.

Caitanyaism believes⁴ in three stadiums or gradations of one and indivisible Reality, which are designated respectively as the Brahma, the Paramātmā and the Bhagavat. The distinction is one of degree only, and is possible because different Sādhakas possess different capacities and modes of realisation. The Brahma, as the philosophical absolute, represents nothing but the *nirviśeṣa* state of the Bhagavat and is conceived as the unconditioned, impersonal and undifferentiated thought-substance, corresponding to the Brahma of the Advaita-vādins, but the Bhagavat, as the religious concrete, constitutes the complete manifestation of the godhead as the perfect person in the fullest display of the distinctive divine potencies, features and attributes. The Brahma is unqualified but the Bhagavat is infinitely qualified by an infinity of attributes. The Bhagavat represents the conception of the highest personal god, endowed with the essential Svarūpa-śakti, of this theistic school of Vaiṣṇavism; he is the Lord in full manifestation (*pūrṇa-āvirbhāva*), the Brāhma, in whom the Śaktis remain in a potential and undifferentiated state, is his incomplete or imperfect manifestation (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*), the latter realisable by Jñāna but the former accessible only to Bhakti. The Paramātmā represents, as it were, an intermediate conception. As a partial manifestation of the Bhagavat, who alone possesses the highest inherent Svarūpa-śakti, the concept has relation mainly to the extraneous Jīva-Śakti and Māyā-Śakti, and is therefore presupposed for this special purpose. The Paramātmā is thus the godhead viewed in relation to spirit (Jīva) and nature (Prakṛti), and is endowed with the powers of creation, sustenance and dissolution of the world. The Paramātmā is also regarded to be the source (*āśraya*) and the germinal ground (*udgama-sthāna*) of the various Avatāras, as well as of the whole phenomenal creation. As Kṛṣṇa, in the opinion of this school, is the Bhagavat himself, the Avatāras proceeding from the Paramātmā stand relatively on a lower level, and never possess the perfection of the highest deity.

4. For a general outline of the philosophy and theology of Caitanyaism, see the introduction to my edition of Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī* (Dacca University, 1934), pp. *liv-cvi*, and *Indian-Culture*, 1935-36.

From the Paramātmā spring the two Puruṣas, the Primal and the Secondary, who become the source of the series of incarnate divine forms, just in the same way the sun is the source or ground of its own rays. In other words, the incarnations are related to the Paramātmā-Puruṣa as parts to the whole, and in their unmanifest state they lie in an indiscrete and germinal form in him. In this connection, there is a discussion in detail of the twenty verses from the *Bhāgavata* (i. 3. 6-25), which give a general list of the authentic appearances, partial (Aṁśa) or complete (Aṁśin), of the supreme deity. The Avatāras have already been considered by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Samkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and have been summarised by us above; but there is some discrepancy in the order of enumeration, Jīva Gosvāmin following strictly the order of the *Bhāgavata*. They are :

1. Catuṣsana. 2. The Varāha. 3. Nārada, to whom is attributed the Pañcārātra Āgama. 4. Nara and Nārāyaṇa. 5. Kapila. 6. Dattātreyā. 7. Yajña. 8. Rṣabha. 9. Pṛthu. 10. The Matsya. 11. The Kūrma. 12. Dhanvantari. 13. The Mohinī. 14. The Narasiṁha. 15. The Vāmana. 16. Paraśurāma. 17. Vyāsa. 18. Rāma. 19-20 Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa. 21. The Buddha. 22. Kalki.

The last verse, i. 3. 26 adds that the Avatāras are numberless, like the ripples on an inexhaustible reservoir; and this statement, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, is meant to include such Manvantara-Avatāras, not included in the above list, as Hayagrīva, Hari, the Haṁsa, Pṛṣnigarbha, Vibhu, Satyasena, Vaikuṇṭha, Ajita, Sārva-bhauma, Viṣvaksena, Dharmasetu, Sudhāman, Yogeśvara and Bṛhadbhānu, as well as Yuga-Avatāras like Śukla, Rakta, etc.

All these appearances, with the exception of Nos. 19 and 20, viz. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa, are Aṁśas or Kalās (partial manifestations) of the Puruṣa (*ete cāṁśa-kalāḥ pumśaḥ*); but among the Aṁśa-Avatāras a further distinction is made of Āveśa-Avatāras. The Catuṣsanas etc. are instances of the Āveśa or 'possession' of the Jñāna-Śakti, Nārada, etc. of the Bhakti-śakti, and Pṛthu etc. of the Kriyā-śakti of the supreme deity. In some cases there is a direct possession by the deity (Svayam-Āveśa), and these Avatāras have therefore often declared themselves as 'I am the Bhagavat' in the scriptures. In the Avatāras like the Matsya, there is direct partial manifestation (*sākṣād aṁśatvam*). By the term Aṁśatva it is meant to indicate that though these appearances partake directly of the divine selfhood (*sākṣād bhagavatīā*), the selfhood is said to be manifested partially, because of the invariably partial manifestation in them of the divine Śakti, in accordance with the invariable divine will in the particular case (*avyabhicāri-tādṛṣa-tadicchāvaśāt sarvadaikadeśatayābhivyakta-śaktyādikatvam*). But as the part (Aṁśa) can never be the whole (Aṁśin), the Avatāra can never be the deity himself in his perfection. The so-called Vibhūti-Avatāras, who consist of the great Ṛṣis, the Manus, the Devas, the sons of the Manus and Prajāpati, are included the term Kalā, which also means a part, but which indicates the manifestation of a small amount of divine energy (*alpa-śakti*), as distinguished from the great energy (*mahāśakti*) displayed in the Āveśa-Avatāras. The difference between the Āveśa and Kalā-Avatāras is thus one of degree only, illustrated by the analogy of the iron which receives different

degrees of the quality of fire by contact, but which in its real nature remains as the iron. These are really cases of Jīva who are inspired specifically in various degrees by divine energy ; but the Aṁśa-Avatāras like the Matsya are direct, if incomplete manifestations of the divine self.

Having thus enumerated the various limbs or constituent parts (*aṅga*) of the Paramātmā, the *Bhāgavata* verses cited above conclude by a half-verse which, in the opinion of Jīva Gosvāmin, distinctly lays down the general character of the Avatāras, and emphatically distinguishes and determines Kṛṣṇa as the supreme Bhagavat himself. The verse (i. 3. 28) concludes the list of Avatāras with the statement :

“These are the Aṁśas and Kalās of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself.”

As this assertion stands at the end of the list of Avatāra, it implies, according to Jīva Gosvāmin, that the appearances mentioned in the list are the various Aṁśas or Kalā-Avatāras of the Puruṣa, but Kṛṣṇa (in company with Balarāma), who is enumerated as the twentieth in the list, is the Bhagavat himself, who is not an Avatāra, but the Avatārin or the very source of the Avatāras themselves as the substratum of the Paramātmā-Puruṣa. This position is elaborately maintained in the rest of the Sandarbha, partly by an explication of this and other texts of the *Bhāgavata* and other Vaiṣṇava scriptures, and partly by reconciling those texts from Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava sources which are inconsistent or contradictory. But since the question is not relevant to our discussion, it need not be considered here.

From what has been indicated above we can now summarise the theory of Avatāra propounded by the Bengal School of Vaiṣṇavism thus :

(i) The supreme being, though one, can manifest himself in various forms, all forms being real, perfect, eternal and intelligential, but there are degrees of excellence in the character of the manifestation.

(ii) The Avatāra is real and not illusory, and he is also supernatural (*divya*) and eternally existent (*nitya*).

(iii) The form or body assumed is non-natural and incorruptible (*aprākṛta*) and has nothing of the grossness of earthly forms (*apārthiva*). It is an intelligential essence (*jñānātma*), but it consists of a Vighraha, or conerete form, of pure existence, bliss and intelligence (*saccidānanda-vighraha*) like the form of the deity himself. The Avatāra thus retains absolute knowledge, absolute existence and absolute bliss, as well as omnipotence and power to grant salvation (*mokṣadatva-svabhāva*).

(iv) The Avatāra assumes human nature in two ways, viz. the apparent shape and form of man (*manuṣya-sanniveśatva*) and the ordinary human acts (*manuṣya-ceṣṭā*).

(v) The humanity is real, but it is human reality without its imperfections. Hence Jīva Gosvāmin speaks of Aprasiddha-mānuṣatva and Aprākṛtatva of the Avatāra.

(vi) As the Avatāra retains divine power and perfection, he is capable of performing superhuman (*atimartya*) acts.

(vii) Although some of the Avatāras appeared in past ages, yet being eternal they are still worthy of worship. Each Avatāra has not only a distinctive form or body, but also a place or habitation in a particular Loka, which is also real and eternal.

(viii) The Avatāra is a partial descent or manifestation in the sense that the deity exists at the same time in his essential and complete form. The obvious object of descent is to do good to the world ; but since the supreme being, who realises himself in his motiveless sport (Līlā), cannot be regarded as having a particular motive, the descent occurs as an aspect of his grace, which is a display of his inherent Sakti, to his faithful devotee.

It is clear that this theological dogma rests ultimately on a curious combination not only of mythology and philosophy but also of the natural and the supernatural, of the real and mystical,—a trait which characterises the whole religious literature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.

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